# THE CONSPIRACIE OF LVCIVS CATILINE TRANSLATED INTO englische by Thomas Paynell, worthy, profitable, and pleasaunt to be red.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# TO THE MOST MIGHTIE MOST EXCELLENT, OVR MOST GRACIOUS ſoueraygne lord HENRY the. VIII. the very kyng of Englande, Irelande, and of Fraunce, the true defender of Chriſtis feyth, and in erthe ſupreme head immediately vnder Chriſt of the churche of Englande, his moſt humble ſeruaunte and chaplayne Thomas Paynell deſireth moſt highe honour and parfecte felicitie.

WHEN I CONSIDER howe we are bound by the lawe of god, to be faithfull and obedyente vnto our gouernour, whiche is ſo many wayes careful for our welthes, ſurely I thynke that all that we can do, to ayde and helpe hym, bothe with body, counſayle, goodes, and prayer, is but our dutie: than moſte gracious ſoueraygne lorde, what man is he, nay what monſtruous beaſt, that wolde ones thynke to rebell ageynſte, or wylfully diſobey your regal power, lawes, ordinances, and expreſſe commaundementes: yet not withſtandynge, we haue ſeene ſome in our dayes, ſo flyp from god, that they attempted gret thynges ageynſt your highe maieſtie, whiche by his iuſte iudgement and wyll, receyued condigne punyſhment. The whiche examples without farther authoritie and knowledge, eyther of holy ſcripture, or other prophane hiſtories (as me ſemeth) ſhulde abundantly ſuffice, to teche men to be euer obedyente vnto theyr liege lord: for it is a thynge of all other moſte euident and clere, that god wyll not ſuffer ſo vnkynde caytyues, ſo deſ-

perate wretches, any thynge to preuayle ageynst his ymage in erthe, a kynge. Where shall we rede in all histoyres, that rauenous rebelles coulde obteyne ageynste the soueraygne gouernours? Surely if euer any possyblye myghte, L. Catiline the Romayne shoulde haue done, for he was in a common weale, that had manye rulers, of whom some the chiefeste fauored his faction, he had on his syde, that conspired with hym, the noblest of the Senatours: he had an armie redye at his hande a brode, in the citie suche aidours confederate with hym, that in maner, no wysedome, power, or policie coulde represse: he was therwithal so wytty, so wylye, so subtyle, soo full of crafte and deceyte, so dilygente and watchefull, soo bolde and hardye, so experte and polytike in warre, that he semed inuincyble: yet by the wisedome, prudence, and dylygence of a fewe good and vertuous men, that then ruled the common weale, he and all his confederates were ouerthrowen and cleane subdued, as it shall appere to the readers of this Catilines conspiracye, whiche I haue translated out of latine into Englishe, specially for this intente, that all that be vnlerned maye se, if god amonge the gentiles, wold not suffer riottous rebelles to ouerrunne rulers and distroye common weales: howe moche lesse then wyll he suffer them to preuayle ageynste a chrysten prynce, his veray ymage in erthe? Therfore let all men lerne by this exaumple of Catiline, what the ende of them is, that ryse agaynste theyr rulers, and euermore hatefully abhorre to here speke of this cursed monster, this deadelye poyson in a common

weale

weale, Rebellion: but with all wytte, industrie, power, cunnynge, ryches, wyshe for, labour for, loue, fauour, and maynteyne Obedience: wherof I wolde write moche more, ne were it, that I speke to your highnesse, whiche hath gyuen vnto vs soo manyfolde occasyons to be most feythfully beloued, and moste entierly obeyed. For whose magnificent maiestie, we are mooste derelye bounde, dayly on our knees to praye god to preserue, ouer vs to reyne as many yeres as Nestor lyued. Amen.

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Catiline sente diuers letters into the citie agaynste Cicero, in whiche he feyned hym selfe to be exiled. cap. xxi. fol. xli.

Warp

¶ Many in the citie blamed the softenes of Cicero, that he suffred theyr ennemie to go his waye. cap. xxii. fol. xlii.
¶ Catiline and Manlius be proclaimed ennemies, vnto whom fled very many hopelosses. cap. xxii. fol. xliii.
¶ Ambassadours are sente from the Senate, into dyuerse prouynces of Italy, to withstande the rebellion. cap. xxiiii. fol. xliiii.
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¶ The sentence of M. Syllanus and other noble men gyuen ageynst the conspiratours. cap. xxxviii. fol. eodem.
¶ The oration of C. Caesar, wherin he contendeth, that the conspiratours shulde not be put to deathe, but kepte continually in prison. cap. xxxix. fol. lvii.
¶ The oration and sentence of Caesar, pleased very moch euen the frendes of Cicero, cap. xl. fol. lix.

The oration of the consul ageynste the conspiratours.ca xli. fol lv.
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The contention of C. Cæsar, and M. Cato in the Senate, and of th' one letters sent to Cesar. cap xliii. fol.lxx.
L. Sectius accuseth C. Cesar as culpable of the conspiracie, Cesar cleareth and reuengeth hym selfe. cap. xliii. fol lxxi.
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Ciceros othe in the ende of his consulshyp. cap. xlvii. fol. lxxiii.
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Howe Petreius ordered his battayles. cap. lviii. fol. lxxxiii.
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FINIS TABVLE.

# THE VVYT, MANERS, DEDES, AND AFFECTIONS of Catiline. Cap. primo.



VCIVS SERGIVS CATILINE, A noble man borne, hadde many vertues, dulked and defaced with excedyng gret vices. He was ingenius, and bolde, he had a good memory, and was well lerned. To doo any greate enterpryse, his counsayle was not to seke, and to go through therwithal, he wanted neyther tonge nor hande. He was an experte man of warre: he could suffer and endure labour, watche, colde, thyrste, and hunger, far beyond that any man wolde beleue. But at these his qualitie men moste marueyled: he coulde wynne and obteyne the loue and frendshyp of euery man, and with seruiseable lowlines, kepe and mayntayne the same: all that he hadde was at his frendes commandement: and he denied to no man, desyryng any thyng that he could gyue. But exceding great vyces surmounted these vertues: his audacitie was incredible, his vnshamefastnes very singular, his vnconstancy wonderfull, fierce of mynde, dishoneſt, disceytefull, and lecherous: ne there was neuer man more vnfaythfull or more cruell then he. Ne there was neuer man in this worlde, I thynke, that had his desyres and inclinations so contrary, so dyuers, and so repugnant to nature. In rappyng and catchyng he was auaritious, in rewardyng prodigall: he kepte company with many leude and dishoneſt persones: and yet feyned him selfe to esteme none but men moſt vertuous and honorable. He hyghly hated al good men: and was moſt familiar with mē moſt noble, with men of sadnesse he ly-

ued soberly, with pleasaunt felowes merely, with olde men saddely, with youth youthely, with misdoers boldly, with lechours lecherously. This man from his childhode led his lyfe in all vnlefull leudenesse: many thinges after his lust and pleasure, and many thynges cruelly, he dyd to the citizens of Rome and theyr alies: and many dedes of sacrelege and wickednes he commytted bothe ageynste the goddes and men. For he takynge Syllas parte, slewe with his owne hande Q. Cecilius, M. Volumnius, and L. Tantalius, moste noble cityzens of Rome: bycause they were of the contrary parte. Also after that he had with beatynges all to haled and torne thzoughe the citie of Rome M. Marius Grandianus (the whiche was of the common people synglarly beloued, and which had ben twyse Pzetor, and to whom for honour the peple had erected images in euery strete of Rome) he strake of the heed frome his shulders, the people lokynge vpon hym: and he with his owne handes, bare the heed not yet fully deade, frome the lyttell towne, not farre out of Rome, called Janiculum, vnto Sylla to the Temple of Apollo. There be also, whiche saye, that Catiline defyled hym selfe with slaughter of his owne brother: and afterwarde dzedynge therfore to be punyshed, he besought Sylla, that his brother that he had kylde, myghte be intyled amonge the nombre of them that were condemned. He slewe also Catullus, his systers husbande, a ryght worshypful knyght of Rome. Catiline was had in suspition of incest, committed with his owne syster. Farthermore beinge Pzetor in Affrica, he so vexed and afflycted the countrey, that the ambassadours of Affrike (he yet gouernynge the Pzouynce) made a greuous complaynte vppon hym in the senate

house,

houſe, and ſharpe ſentences were of the fathers gyuen ageynſt hym in the Senate houſe: for ſome Senatours wolde he ſhoulde haue bene delyuered to the Ambaſſadours. And as ſone as he was returned from Affryca, the yonge man Pub. Clodius accuſed hym of extortion and bribery. Cicero in Toga Cãdida, and Lucretius in the orations that he wrote agaynſte Catiline, obiected agaynſte hym, that he had maried his owne doughter, the whiche he begate on a gentell woman, whoſe company he haunted very moche: And it was reported for ſo certayne, that he had committed fornication with Fabia, Ciceros wyfes ſyſter, and a nunne, that beinge accuſed therof, vnneth he eſcaped through fauour of Catulus. Finally Catiline caught with the loue of Aurelie Oreſtilla, that hadde (as the fame wente) a fayre and a beautifull face, ſlewe his owne wyfe. After that he deſyred Aurelia to his wife: but ſhe not fearing his houſe, that runne of bloude of his fyrſte wyfe, but that ſhe was adredde of his ſonne in lawe a yonge man: therfore ſhe ſayde, ſhe durſte not mary with hym. But Catiline to the ende he myghte haue Aurelia, heaped myſchiefe vppon myſchyefe: for when he hadde poyſoned his ſonne in lawe, he maryed Aurelia. Nor Catiline defiled hym ſelfe noo more with the fylthy loue of women, then he dyd of boyes. Thus Catiline beinge ſpotted with ſo many wycked, curſed, and ſhamefull dedes, burned alwaye with an incredible deſyre to oppreſſe the common welthe. For he coueted honours, the imperial roumes, prouynces, triumphes, and thynges out of his reache: the whiche he had no hope to obteyne, ſo longe as the common weale was in quiete: but beinge troubled, he beleued veryly to haue them. Laſtely truſtynge in his

greate route of vnthryftes and hopeloſtes, he toke counſayle to enuade the common weale.

¶But for bycauſe L. Catiline conſpired twiſe ageinſt the common weale, ones when Lepidus and Vulcatius were conſuls, and ageyne when Cicero was conſul: it is requiſite, before we come to the thynges that were done in the tyme of Ciceros conſulſhyp, ſomwhat to recite of the former Conſpiracy.

¶The fyrſte Conſpiracie of L. Catiline and P. Antronius. Cap. ii.

WHAN P. Antronius and P. Sylla were choſen to be conſuls: (L. Tullus, M. Lepidus beinge conſuls) they were accuſed of ambition, and ſpoyled of honour and fame: Antronius (as he was a man, which in proſperitie was accuſtomed to deſpiſe al men, and in aduerſitie to ſtryue ageynſte thoſe that were good men) wold neyther gyue place to tyme, nor yet to Fortune her ſelfe, but thought in his mynde by force to recouer the conſulſhyp, which he had forgone by iuſtice. Wherfore he diſcloſed his intent to L. Catiline, and L. Vargunteius, and Gn. Pilo, an vnthrifty, riottous, and a haſty yong man, and very deſyrous to diſturbe the common weale. The whiche ſuppoſynge they coulde not eaſely bryng this thynge to paſſe, without the helpe of ſome greate man, they got to aſſociate and helpe them L. Licinius Craſſus, a man that flouriſhed in great fauour, rychelle, and honour. Hym they made theyr chiefe capitayne in this matter: bycauſe he was not frendely but ennemye to Gn. Pompei, and ſore agreued that he grewe ſo great in the common weale. Theſe men conſpired aboute the

bu.

viii. daye of December, and purposed with a great nombre of bondmen and swoorde players, gathered together the fyrste daye of January folowynge, to slee L. Cotta, and L. Torquatus the consuls, and to besiege the Palaice: and after they had murdered many of the Senatours, Crassus shoulde muade the dictatourshyppe: Catiline and Antronius, catchynge vp the ornamentes of consulshyp with the sergiantes, shulde descende into the felde: and the common weale ordered after theyr diuise, Piso with an armye shoulde be sente to conquere bothe Spaynes. But Crassus, when the daye of this murther was come, repentynge hym selfe, wolde not be there. Wherfore the other conspiratours were so discoraged, by reason of his absence, that they coulde not performe theyr enterprise. Some report otherwise, and they write, that these noble men were not slayne, by reson that Catiline gaue token to the rebels, before they were redy. C. Caesar, and P. Sylla, moste noble citezens were named to be in this conspiracye. And farther they saye, it was so appoynted, that Caesar shuld haue ben maister of the horse men. But Caesars vertue, noblenesse, and magnyficente mynde defendeth hym, not to be in this conspyracie: And the moste noble oratour, Q. Hortentius defendeth Sylla. Of this conspiracye Cicero speaketh in his epistoll, whiche he sent to Pompei, of his dedes, and of thastate of the common weale: wrythynge, that two yeres before, there was an incredyble furour, and broughte to lyghte in his consulshyppe. But hytherto we haue spoken of the fyrste conspiracye.

## ¶Of the other conspiracie far greatter and more greuous. Cap. iii.



L thoughe the fyrste conspyracie came shamefully to passe, yet Catiline chaunged not his purpose, nor wolde desyste from his wicked and cursed perswasion to oppresse the common weale: But was more feruent & desyrous by reason that he supposed, some mishap letted, that the fyrst conspiracy went not luckely forward: and agayne bycause there were many citizens of Rome, whiche to lyue in lust and lykynge, were soo farre indetted, that they coulde not come out, without sellynge of theyr landes. But they loued so moche theyr possessions, that rather then they shulde be spoyled of them, Catiline wyste very wel, they wolde venter to do what so euer he desyred them. Also the hope that he had, to obteyne the consulshyp, kendeled moche his courage, and namely, bycause he hoped to haue to be his felowe in office C. Antonius his speciall frende. Ferthermore his decaye in substaunce, and his beastely, cruel, and impoortunate nature stered him, which desyred neyther reste nor yet warre: except it were amonge them selfe. There was also a greatter cause, whiche stablyshed Catiline (a man of his owne corage bent to disturbe the comon weale) in his hardynes and desyre: For after that L. Sylla had by conquest taken on hym to rule the common weale, puttyng out the olde inhabitours of Fesules, appoynted his men of warre (to whom he had gyuen ryghte great prayes) to dwell there. These men of nedy persons beinge sodeynly enryched with other mennes goodes, beganne to buylde ryght

ryght sumptuous and stately manour places and hou-
ses, and to make costly feastes and great expenses. And
whyle they thus lyued after the maner and arraye of
kynges, the great abundaunce of goodes, that they by
spyllynge of bloude and slaughter of citizens had hea-
ped to gether, were sone wasted and spente. For yll go- ill gotten goodes.
ten goodes are soone brought to naughte. And after-
warde in that nedynesse, the ryottous and sumptuouse
facion, that they vsed in abundaunce remaynynge styl,
it is incredyble to speake, howe greately they fell in det.
And for this cause all theyr hole desyre was to haue se-
dicion, discorde, and warre amonge them selfes. And to
the great settynge forwarde of theyr matter, Gn. Piso,
a stoute stomaked and valyante yonge man, of whome
we spake before, was in the hither Spayne with an ar-
mie: But he was indued and brought vp in conditions
lyke Catiline, couetous, a foo to reste and quietnes, en-
nemy to good men, a waster of his owne goodes, and a
catcher of other mennes, a standarde bearer of sedicion,
and a steret to stryfe of chapemen. Farthermore P. Sic
cinius Nucerius ruled then the prouynce of Maury-
tayne, whiche was a man beyonde al measure desyrous
of a newe alteration in the common weale: those were
Catilines greattest frendes. For lykenes of nature and Likenes of maners
maners hath great strength in knyttyng fast frendship.
With these two Catiline had oft afore tyme counsayled
as concernyng to moue warre: and hoped nowe at this
tyme, that the conspiracie shulde be ryght greatly for-
thered by theyr ayde and power. Vnto this diuellysshe
desyre he was drawen with a certayne vehemency and
fury, bycause he sawe al thinges went as Gn. Pompei,
and a fewe other wolde haue it. For whyle L. Tullius,

and

and M. Lepidus were consuls, it was longe debated in the Senate house, who shulde be chosen capitayne ageynste the kynge Mithridates: Catiline laboured all that he could with frendshyppe, fauour, and ambition, to be capitayne of that warre: but all the Senatours stykely withstode hym, and appoynted Gn. Pompei, to be in that hyghe roume, namely by the meanes of Cicero, then beinge Pretor. Fierce Catiline touched with this rebuke, beinge ennemie to good men, and sore displeased with the Senatours, determyned hym selfe to disturbe the common weale. Callynge also to mynde, howe many citizens he had slayne, the manyfold cursed and wicked fornications, & aduoutryes, and the infinite vengeable dedes, that he had commytted and doone ageynst his countrey, the goddes and men, and thought euery houre eyther to be put in prison or to be banished. For the misdoers were always to be punished. And this semed to Catiline to make hyghly for his purpose, that there was none armye in Italie, and that euerye place was full of desperate, vnthrifty, and naughty persons. Wherfore Catiline surely trusted by so many and soo great opportunities, easely to oppresse the comon weale, got vnto hym very many frendes and alies of all sortes of men.

Feare followeth misdoers.

¶ The conditions, the dedes, and maners of them that were felowes of the conspiracy, whiche were in the citie. Cap. iiii.

THERE VVAS neyther at Rome, nor yet in no corner of Italy, any poysoner, sword player, theefe, murderer, parentes sleer, forger of false testamentes, horemonger, riottour, or aduouterer, but that he was somewhat familiarly acqueynted

queynted with Catiline. And who so euer at Rome had prodigally spent awaye his landes, and riottously consumed his goodes, suche were Catilines most nere and dereste frendes. And loke whom he knewe solehardye, hym moste gladly wolde he reteyne into his frendeshyp. For he sayde they that muste be called to be associate in a ciuyll warre, shuld in no wyse be feareful and coward caytiues. Farthermore he intyced to hym many noble yonge men, to some promysynge bodily luste and pleasure, to some the deathe of theyr parentes, some he wan with money, some with fauour, some with bodelye labour, ye with the helpe of a myscheuous dede, if nede required: and as he sawe in them diuers inclinations, so with diuers reasons he allured them to be his frendes. Also he entertayned certayne men of great power and honesty by dissimulation and cloked vertue. For (as we sayde) he was adourned with many noble qualities, the whiche I wolde to god he had turned and applyed to a better intent and purpose.

¶ Thus whan Catiline had got together a huge multitude of ryottous hopelostes, and vnthryfty caytiues, about the fyrste daye of June, L. Julius Cesar, and C. Marius Figulus beinge consuls, fyrste he beganne to proue euery mans courage aparte secretely, & to declare what great aduauncementes they shuld haue by reason of the conspiracie, to some that were couetous he sayde, theyr tyme was come to haue inough: to some desirous therof he behight roume and auctoritie: some he put in remembraunce of great spoyle, pillage, and robberye. And so after he perceyued they were redy and prompt to the matter, all the moste noble, and moste valiante and hardy enterprisers, and them, with whom he was moste

familiar and nereſt alied, he aſſembled to gether in the houſe of M. Lecca. This houſe Catiline choſe out for hym, bycauſe it ſtode farre from the frequence and reſorte of people: for he demed an out corner or a ſolytary place moſte conuenient for his purpoſe. So thyther reſorted to this aſſembly of the moſt noble linage of the Cornelians, P. Lentulus Sura, a manne lykely to be conſull, and was nephewe to that moſte noble and worthy Lentulus, which beinge armed, purſued Gracchus into the hyll Auentine. This Lentulus in feruente deſyre of roume and auctoritie was egall to Catiline: but touchinge the great diligence, wit, and polycie vſed in warre, he was nothynge comparable to hym. Ne the leſſe he was a man of goodly perſonne, and ryghte eloquent in wordes: and beinge induced by diuination, he beleued, that his name was predeſtinate to deſtroye the common weale. For he ſayde, that by the bokes of Sybill, and anſwers of the ſouthſayers, there ſhoulde be three of that name Cornelius, that ſhulde be ſouerayne gouernours: and that he hym ſelfe was the thyrd Cornelius, to whom the empire and kyngedome of the Romaynes ought of neceſſitie to come. For he ſayde, that Sunna and Sylla had ben before hym.

¶ Miſerable and wretched ar thoſe men that put truſt in ſuche ſouthſaiers, to whom the punyſhement of Lentulus ought to be a good example, on how many rough rockes and perilles they make men to runne.

¶ In this Lentulus noughte remayned of the noble bloude of his anceſtours, ne nothyng of theyr glorious and famous dedes: but all thynges contrary to theym, for in ſtede of theyr honeſtie, temperaunce, manlineſſe, and prudence, he was indewed with fylthyneſſe, lechery

ſluggiſhe

sluggishe slouthe and foolehardynesse. But yet he was twyse Senatour, and twyse accused in iudgement, and escaped.

¶ Also thither came C. Cethegus, this man passed Catiline in lewde enterpzises, and foolehardynesse, but in feates of warre, nobilitie, and strength of body, he was in maner egall to hym. For he beinge but a souldyour in the warres, dyd many great and notable dedes, full oft his enuemy in armes he ouerthzewe: he was a right good hozseman, and a perfect man of armes. And there was no businesse so weyghty, noz none so harde and difficile, but that it semed to hym lyght and easy: So gret so large, and so immoderate was his hart and courage. This man had afoze tyme soze wounded the moste noble and wozthy man Q. Metellus Pius. And had an other tyme, as it was sayd, conspired agaynst the common weale.

¶ Also of this bande was P. Cimber Gabinius, a gret man of byzthe: but he was dishoneste, cruell, a poller, proude, deceytefull, vnshamefaste, and gyuen to bodely luste.

¶ Also of this confederacy were L. Crassus Longinus and P. Antronius, bothe noble men, bothe eloquente, bothe hadde in great honour and estimation, and both were consuls at dyuers tymes: those two were lyke in carnall luste, in cruelnes, in vnshamefastnes, and their audacitie double: of the whiche the tone by foze and violence thzuste men out of theyz possessions, slewe and murthered, and robbed churches and chapels: the tother commytted many aduoutries and fozications. It were to longe foz me to describe euery mannes lyfe and maners, namely sythe I hast me to declare the thinges

that are moze necessary to be spoken.

¶ Soo there assembled to gether in this house, besyde those that are afoze rehersed, L. Vargunteius a Senatour, P. Seruius Sylla, M. Curius, M. Annius, P. & M. Lecca. L. Calphurnius Bestia, M. Fuluius Nobiliоz, P. Statilius, P. Furius, Manlius Chilo, and P. Tongillus: And moze ouer strangers bozne and inhabitantes of townes that were vnder the dominion of the Romaynes, suche as were chiefest and of moste estimation, they made of counsayle with them.

¶ Also there were some, that wolde not come at this assembly, but they were pziuely parteners to this mischeuous dede, and secretly dyd aide and helpe Catiline. Amonge the whiche some sayde, that M. Crassus, and C. Cesar, had knowlege of this conspiracie, and were bothe helpers and fozthereрs of the same. They sayde, that Crassus was dzyuen therto, by reason that he was soze greued in his mynde, to se G. Pompei his ennemy to be of al men (foz the noble dedes and conquestes that he had done, bothe by lande and see) demed and estemed as chiefe and soueraygne of the citie: and foz that cause Crassus trusted, if the conspiratours dydde vanquishe and ouercome, that he hym selfe myghte easelye be the pzynce and soueraygne of all the wozlde. They sayd Cesar was dzyuen therto by reason that thzough his gret and large lyberalitie, he owed aboue, D CCC. xxx. talentes. Some saye that all these thynges were feyned and blowen abzode by theyz ennemies: and shuld in no wyse be beleued, that so noble men shoulde confederate them selues with Lentulus, Catiline, and Cethegus, desperate caytiues. what certayne knowlege I haue of eyther of them, I wyl after in place conuement declare.

But

But when these men, that I haue rehersed, were there assembled to gether, Catiline toke theym aparte, and thus he sayde.

¶ The oration of L. Catiline to his felowes of the conspiracie. Cap. v.

YOVR incredyble faythefulnes, and the great fortitude and manhode that I haue alwaye perceyued in you, dothe encourage my harte, yea and putteth me in great hope, not onely to recouer libertie, but also to enlarge and augmente our olde dignitie. For whan I loke and well beholde eche of you, I se no man in this companye, that hath not done some noble and worthy acte: ne no man, but that he derely tendereth my welth, ne no man, but either he hath done me pleasure, or els I hym, ne no man, but that I am bounde to remembre for euermore his goodnes toward me. And therfore now I haue no feare to disclose and open vnto you, what I purpose and intende: nor I haue no drede nor mistruste, but that eche of you wyll endeuoir hym to the vttermost of your power, to accomplysshe and bringe to effecte, that that I shall shewe you. For the olde lawe of iuste and trewe amitie, that of a longe tyme hath ben betwene vs, is, that frendes shulde alwaye wyll one thynge: nor there is no bonde of frendshyppe more certayne and sure, then the consent and societie of counsayll and wyll. And therfore in this cause most specially your wyls and myne ought to be one, for soo moche as ye shall well perceyue, that those thynges, that my harte so sore desyreth to bring to passe, are egally good and yuell, bothe for you and me. Often tymes by my selfe thynking on the miseries, that

we many yeres haue benne wrapped in, and (as me se-
meth) shall be styll, onlesse your moste prudente wyse-
domes woll prouide remedy: I am wonte to call to re-
membrance, what a wretched lyfe we shal leade in tyme
to come, without we set our selfe at libertie. For I nede
not to reherse to you, your selfe beare it well inoughe in
in remembraunce, howe many and dyuers hurtes and
griefes we haue endured, sithe the hole common weale,
through the crueltie of certayne vngratious persones,
was permitted and let slippe to be vnder the rule, order,
and power of a fewe, and suche as began to take more
vpon them, then all the rest beside. For I, letting passe
to reherse the mishappe and chance that eche of vs hath
had, you maye with one regarde beholde all vs that be
here, noble, stronge, and valiant men (whiche often ti-
mes for the common weale haue not eschewed perylles
moste great and greuous) and hauynge neyther lande
nor rent, lefte as wretches, nedy, sorowfull, and outca-
stes, haue as moche as we can do, to defende our liues,
fame, citie and goodes. But they, whiche violate, bree-
ce, and trouble all together, bothe the lawe of god and ma,
not onely walowynge in riches and welthe, pleasantly
passe awaye theyr tyme where they luste: but also euery
thynge beinge done at theyr commaundement and wyl,
seke wayes and meanes to attrappe and destroye the
most noble and valiant men of our citie: and they them
selfe are in doubte of nothynge: fynally they haue and
exercise a regall power. I haue no word more greuous,
when I name this royal power: but suerly theyr power
is greatter than a kynges. What kyngdome was there
euer, that had mo kynges at one tyme: what kyng was
there euer so myghty and soo stronge, the whiche had a

power

power to constitute and make kynges? But these men haue full power to rule all prouinces, and depryue free nations of theyr landes, and to gyue and dispose other menne royalmes and kyngedomes. To these men all the whole world, kynges, princes, and strange nations haue alwaye ben tributours. And soo they haue all the power, fauour, ryches, worshyp, and honour. To the satisfienge of the whose couetousnes, suerlye it seneth all the hole worlde is to lyttell and ouer strayte. But nowe, if they wolde seke only to haue the power, riches, and honour, they shulde be to vs greuous, but yet they mought be suffered and borne. But what is he that can endure and suffer, that they haupnge abundance of catell, golde, syluer, euory, ryche array, costly household stuffe, and other thynges, shulde dayly lye in awayt to catche vs in some snare, that are nedy and want al these thynges, and that are with theyr bostynges and braggges, greuously wronged: ye and besyde that, to goo about styll to deprye vs of this our sorowfull and most wretched lyfe? we are sore thretened, and are in perpetuall peryll and drede of theym, our iudgementes, and puttynge from all roumes and offyces are prepared. Whiche thynges howe longe wyll you moste valiaunt and noble men, patiently beare and suffre? Were it not better for a man a thousande tymes to dye, then to lyue in that citie, where he is an abiecte, contemned, and despised of all other, desperate and forsaken, tremblynge and quakynge, mistrustynge his owne affaires, not so hardy to speke, without libertie, without auctoritie, and without any shappe of a free man? yea and to be subiect to those, the whiche, if we had a common weale, wolde be in feare and drede of vs. Wherfore moste hardy and

valiant men, let vs at laste shake of our sluggishenesse, and let vs take suche hart and courage as beseemeth noble Romaynes borne. Our fore fathers coulde not suffre the proude kynge Tarquinius: and canne we suffer not one kynge, but many moste cruell tyrantes? Surely I wyll neuer leaue you, I wyll monishe you, I wyll teache and instructe you, I wyll alwaye declare to you, what I thynke beste to be done: there shall no tyme escape me neyther nyght nor daye, but that I woll minde and imagine, what soo euer concernynge our lybertie, ought to be thought on: that thynge, that ought to be entreprysed and done, wyll not I make courtsye to doo, but shall desyre and praye you to haue the doinge therof: fynally I wyll do that that becometh a worthy Romayne to do: that is, for our libertie I wyll put my life in ieoperdy. But I protest before god and man, that the victorie is in our handes, if we wyll playe the men. We haue here at hande Sylias souldiours, with all theyr fauour, strengthe, and one assent, redye to ayde vs: by the whose sodeyne commynge, we shall shortely haue a stronge and sure hoste of men. With like diligence, fauour and loue to recouer libertie, the moste bolde and valiant men, Gn. Piso, and P. Siccinius Nucerius, haue conspired with vs: of the whiche the tone is in the hither Spayne with a great army: the tother is cappitayn and ruleth Mauritayne. Those two shal we haue as felowes in counsaylynge, and moste trustie and sure helpers in our nedes and busynesse. But other menne, good lorde what routes, and with what fauour, and hardy courage they agree with vs to recouer libertie? I let passe here to speake of the noble citizens, the whiche hauinge neyther lande nor rent left, and being wrapped

in

in great wretchednesse and nede, can vneth suffer and
endure, that this so noble and mighty a citie shoulde be
subiecte to the wyll and power of a fewe persones. For
who is he moste noble and valiante men, the whose ry-
ches, worshyp, honour, prouinces, roumes, offices, and
hyghe auctorities, are not dere and pleasante? Wherto
shulde I reherse to you the good wylles of poore men,
whiche vnfortunate felowes, beinge oppressed with ex-
cedynge great dette, and troubled with infynite wron-
ges, can not be safe and sure by none other meane than
by ciuyle warre? But what nedeth me to remembre to
you these men, the whiche very nede, the whiche priuate
iniuries, the whiche feare of ingrauentes, and the which
necessitie compelleth vnto warre? I swere to you by my
faythe, there is no citizen, without this domination of
the myghty men, the whiche wolde not with all his hart
resiste and withstande these cruell tyrantes. There are
but ouer many redy to recouer libertie, the market place
is full of those men, all the townes of Italye are ful, all
Italie is reysed vp, men of al states and condition, and
finally men of euery age agree and consent all on this
one thynge. And it doth not a lyttel helpe forwarde, that
the ryches of these men is spyted amonge straige natio-
ons, they myghty hated, the consuls power, with whi-
che (at the nert election) I truste you shall se me adour-
ned. Do you than doubte, I beinge your consul and ca
pitayne, the souldyours myndes stirred and kendeled
therto, and all Italy conspyringe with vs, to recouer a-
gayne your libertie? For goddes sake most stronge and
valiant men, let not slyppe, but take sure holde on this
occasion offered vnto you, and at last cal to your remem
braunce, that you be Romayne princes. We haue suche

a tyme, as neuer man hadde before vs. And if you lette this scape, you shall neuer haue suche an other tyme agayne. I am to longe in exhortynge you: There is nothynge elles, that I wyll monishe you: for there is no man so foolyshe, but that he perceyueth, that we can be none other waye in safetie. Wherfore necessitie, peryl, the large rewardes that shall aryse by this warre, shoulde moche more stere and prouoke you therto, then myne oration. You shall haue me to be your capitayne, or elles your companion, or rather bothe twayne: Neyther my mynde nor body shall euer fayle you. And although my mynde and corage hath euer ben prompte and redy: yet the tyme hath fayled vs: but alwaye as soone as opportunitie appered, I was my selfe the chiefe and principal that wolde haue recouered agayne your libertie. Soo that I beinge consull and prince, and you the auctours and capytaynes (the goddes beinge helpers) surely in shorte tyme we shall be free, and out of all bondage: except we had rather be in thraldome, then lyke men by fe ate of armes and dente of swerde, to trie the matter.

¶ Whan he had sayde, euery man most hyghly lauded Catiline, they gaue hym great thankes, and approued his counsayle. And vnto many of them, that asked hym what the condition of this warre shuld be, and what rewardes and winninges shuld ensue and folowe of this conspiracy: Catiline fyrste promysed them, the deathe of great riche men, newe proscriptions, prouinces, offices, and honours. Than he described vnto them al the hole maner of this warre. And lastly he exhorted them that they shuld most fauourably sticke to hym in the request of the consulshyp. And after they hadde embraced and taken eche other by the hande, he let them departe.

¶ The

¶ The confederacie concluded and knytte vp with mannes bloudde. Cap. vi.

TVVYL NOT in this place omytte, that Liuius and Saluste haue lefte in wrytyng. After Catiline had ended his oration, and had with all kynde of assurances and othes knytte vnto hym felowes of his furie, to go forthe with theyr wicked and vengeable enterpryse, he powred wyne and mannes bloude together in a cuppe, and fyrste he beganne, and after gaue it to his felowes to drinke. Some other wryters haue added hereunto, that this confederacie was not onelye concluded with mannes bloude, but also it was stablyshed and confyrmed with the eatynge of the flesshe of a certayne man, that Catiline had slayne. And they say, he dyd it for this consideration, that thrroughe suche a cruell dede they shulde be the more faythfull one to an other. Some other consideryng the great cruelnesse of the dede, thinke it is but a feyned matter, and incredible. But I am not only sone perswaded, to thynke that it was so done, but also I deme hym not to haue doone that, to the entente that they shulde be the more feythful among them selfe: But I beleue, he dyd it, to teache the conspiratours by example, the maner and vse of wylde beastes, of whiche there are none more cruel and mortal then they (as men saye) whiche haue ones tasted mannes flesshe. So lykewise, whan they had ones take a tast of mannes bloud, there shuld be no enterpryse so fierce and fel, nor no dede so cruel, that they ought to feare and abhorre to do. And to beleue this thinge, that I lerned of a certayne great auctour induceth me: how Catiline was borne in hand

by southesayers, that a certayne Egle or standarde of Syluer, that C. Marius had in the warres agaynste the Cymbrians, was predestinate to be the destruction and ruine of the common weale: to the whiche, as we rede, he erected aulters, and ordeyned an oratorye at home in his house, and was wont to worshyppe it as a godly thynge, whan he wente in hande with any enterprise. O crueltie that neuer was harde of before those dayes, that there shulde be than some founde, the which vnder the shappe of men, were in harte fierce and cruell wilde beastes.

## Of .vii. that desired the consulshyppe, amonge whome Cicero preuayled. Cap. vii.



IN THE MEANE whyle, when they went to electe newe consuls, there came forthe. vii. that desyred to be consulles, of the which, two were descended of noble lynage, L. Catiline, and P. Galba: Foure were meaner personnes, of the whiche, two were more noble. C. Antonius the sonne of the moste wytty and eloquent Orator M. Antonius, L. Cassius Longinus, that was amonge them at the foresayde vngratious assemblye: M. Cornificius, C. Licinius sacerdos: and oone of theym a knyghtes sonne borne, M. Tullius Cicero, the whiche in noble birthe was inferiour to the other, but in wytte, counsayle, eloquence, and stoutenesse of stomake, he far passed them al. when this man throughe the great fauour, good wyll, and loue of the people, had ben Tresourer, Gardian of the temples, and Mayre, as his age serued hym, thoughe he were a newe gentylman, yet hauynge truste

truste in his vertuous demeanour, beganne to require the consulshyp. For before that time the nobilitie kepte that dignitie with strength and wisedome to them selfe. Nor there was no newe gentyliman consull of a longe season before. But of these. vii. Cassius, Galba, Cornificius, and Licinius were slower in requiring the consulshyp then they made fore. But Catiline hauyng gret hope to be consul, ranne from tribe to tribe, and called vpon and went in hande with all those that vsed at election of the highe officers to deale money and gyue rewardes on the behalf of the noble men, and he despised M. Tully Cicero, and denied that a straunger myghte stryue with hym before an egall iudge: he toke Antonius as his felowe in office, and not as oone that stroue with hym to be consull. For they two were agreed together, to shyfte Cicero beside the consulshyp, throughe thassured helpe of M. Crassus and C. Caesar. Ambition was extremelye in vre at those dayes. For Catiline and Antonius dyd all that they coulde with exceedynge great gyftes and rewardes, to come to the consulshyppe. wherfore through the perswasion that Cicero made therupon in the Senate house, the Senatours decreed, that a newe lawe shuld be made agaynste ambition, and the penaltie therof augmented. And bicause M. Mutius, Orestinus the protectour of the commontie wolde haue letted this decree to go forthe, to the sore and greuouse displeasure of the Senatours: Cicero rose vp and ryght sharpely rebuked M. Mutius: and behemently inueyed agaynste L. Catiline and C. Antonius, with many and fauourable murmurations of the hole senate therunto. And in that same oration, speakynge vnto Catiline (the whiche a fewe dayes before.

was by pzeuarication and falsehod quite of petye theft) he pzophecied and sayd: O thou wzetche, that dost not perceyue, that thou were not clerely quite and deliuered by that iudgement, but reserued to suffer a sharper and moze greuous punishement. And at the very same time of election, a rumour was spredde abzode amonge the commons, that certayne citizens were confederate and agreed to gether, to oppzesse the common weale, and to murther and slee the senatours. The grounde and begynner of this rumour was M. Curius, felowe and partener of all theyz counsaylynges, the whiche kepte paramoure one Fuluia, not onely a ryght noble but also a notable woman. This man beinge holly gyuen to bodely pleasure, ydelnes, and vanities, to the intent he mighte thzoughe hope of the conspiracye allure her the better to loue and fauour hym, he tolde to her all the counsayles of the conspiratours. Nowe as the nature of women is, the which can neyther kepe in secrete thinges, noz hyde pzyucties, and rather wyll a womanne quenche flame in a burnynge mouthe, than kepe counsayle. So this Fuluia tolde vnto many and dyuers, all that euer she herde of Curius, without namynge any of the conspiratours. This thynge holpe and greatelye furthered Cicero to be consull. Foz all that desyzed to saue and defend the common weale from that mischife, incontinent went and stacke to Cicero, as to a man that naturally was inclined to reste and peace, and that had the knowelege of warfare, and experyence in all other kynde of busynesse. Thus than whan it came to the election Cicero was chosen consul with such fauour and affection of all the people, as fewe of the nobylitie had ben, but neuer no newe gentyl man before hym. Anto-

nius

nius had a fewe mo Centurians than Catiline. And all be it that he had an yll name, for in Sillas victorye he behaued hym selfe cruellye, and spoyled and pylled the countrey of Achaia, and beinge accused therof, refused to come and make answere, and was greatlye indetted to dyuers men, and fynally for his dishonestie was by the senatours remoued and put out of the Senate: yet partly bycause the other desirers of the consulshyp waxed slacke, as I sayde before, and partely for the noble remembraunce and worthye renoume of his father, he was better fauoured and had clerely moo handes then Catiline. Also the plates and enterludes furthered gretly Antonius towarde the opteyninge of the consulship: the whiche he, fyrste of all the Romaynes, made moste magnificently and rychely on syluer stages: whom L. Murena ensued, the whiche the nexte yere folowynge caused the playes to be made before the peple with most gay and gorgiouse apparayle, and also with syluer stages. Those playes maruayllously delyted the people. And althoughe Cicero, that most excellent lerned man, was far distant from the opinion of the common people (whiche also made thre playes in the tyme of his edileshyp) yet he sayde, that he also had a syluer stage, that required to haue the consulshyp. But the furye of Catiline, althoughe his petition toke no place, dimynished not, but dayly made great preparation, he assayed and solicited many thynges, he appoynted armour in dyuers partes of Italye that were opportune for his purpose. He sente C. Manlius a brayneycke bolde man of his band, into Hetruria, to styre vp Sillas souldiours and to prepare an armye, and he commanded hym to be redy in armes the. xxiii. daye of Nouembre. And sayde,

that

that for as moche as fortune dyd ofte greately helpe in chosynge of the consuls, he wolde yet ones agayne the nexte yere desyre and make labour to be consull: and in the meane tyme to laye awayte to attrappe Cicero, & to prepare to murter and slee the noble men of Rome. And within a fewe monthes after L. Lucullus, that most noble man, & that to speake in his cause was most prompt and redye, accused hym amonge the murtherers: but through the helpe of many noble men, and by the sentence and iudgement of a great nombre, he was quitte. This is he the noble and myghty man Lucullus, that warred agaynste the moste puissante kynge Mithridates: from the whiche warre he returnynge home as conquerour, throughe detraction of his ennemies was let from his triumphe by the space of thre yeres, but by the worthy ayde and diligence of Cicero in his consulshyp, he sittynge in a chare moste noble and ryche, was tryumphantly conueyed into the Capitoll. And he was afterwarde mooste speciall ayde and helpe to Cicero, to squenche this fereful firebrande of conspiracy. But after that Cicero had the fyrste daye of January taken on hym the rule and gouernaunce of the common weale, (the whiche through suspition of the lawe Agraria, was full of trouble and feare) he delyuered the Senatours and all other good honest men from drede.

¶ Power that had ben gyuen to the Decemuiri by the lawe Agraria, if Cicero had not resisted. Cap. Vii.

The power of Decemuiri.

THERE were certayne of the Protectours of the commontie, whiche indeuoured theym to haue the lawe Agraria, of creatynge the Decemuri with imperiall auctorite, to be publyshed

lyshed: to whom by that lawe it was permitted, to goo throughe the hole worlde with moofte hyghe and fouerayne auctoritie, to depriue fre nations of theyr landes, to take kyngedomes frome whom they wolde, and to make and call kinges whom they pleased, to knowe and to here the cauſes of al maner of peple, to take men without counſayle, to puniſhe men without any appellation, and it was permytted to theym for the ſpace of fyue yeres, to iudge the conſuls and protectours of the cõmontie, and no man myght iudge them. They might remayne at Rome when they wold, and mought be abſent, whan it was to them commodious. Alſo it was laufull for them to deuid and ſelle all the feldes that were common in the countrey of Campana, Stellata, Bithinia, and the common feldes that were in Paphlagonia, in Ponto, Capadocia, in Macedonia, in Alexandria, in Affrica, & in Hiſpania. Further they might ſend men to inhabite certayne places, or renewe the olde inhabytours: and infinite power was gyuen to them to make money innumerable. And truely they had the name of Decemuiri, but in very dede they ſhulde haue conſtituted tenne lordes ouer all the hole worlde. The Senatours were of theſe lawes ſore in drede, and the people had therby gret hope of large liberalitie and rewardes, and of newe buſineſſes for theyr profyte. Theſe perturbations and troubles of the citie, were verye mete and opportune for Catiline, and ſhulde moſte ſpecially haue holpen forwarde the conſpiracye, that gan to growe apace, if the moſte prudent policie of the conſull had not prounded remedy for the matter. For Cicero callyng the protectours of the commontie to parliament before the Senatours, with ſuch greuous and ſharpe wordes re-

buked them, that Rullus a man full of audacitie and wordes, was sore afrayde, and durste not ones speake. After al, this Cicero perceyuynge that they craked and bosted them selfe vehemently amonge the people, and that the people moste highely lauded and prayſed them, he made an oration of ſuche grauitie, that although the people had greatly allowed the foreſayde lawe, yet he ſo turned mennes myndes, and playnelye declared the ſayde lawe to be ſo contrarye to the profyte of the commontie, that nothynge was ſo plauſyble to the people as perſwaſion agaynſt the lawe Agraria. Then the peple forthwith reproued the lawe, and forſoke, contemned, and deſpiſed theym that weute aboute to haue the lawe eſtabliſhed. Thus the lawe Agraria, that had ben alwayes ſo acceptable to the commons, and that hadde cauſed ſo many and ſo great troubles and buſynesſes, was all hole, throughe the counſayle and eloquence of Cicero, repudiate and caſte awaye. So pleaſaunte and ſwete, of ſo great ſtrengthe, and ſo copious ware Ciceros wordes, that with tellynge his tale he coulde bryng to paſſe what ſo euer he wolde.

¶ Elas what a tyme be we in? For nowe adayes onely the ſchole mayſters in a maner do giue and lerne vs the preceptes of Eloquence: and euery man for deſyre of luker and money, gothe in hande to ſtudy the lawe. Wherof it foloweth, that all we be but as baabes, and can not declare and expreſſe, that we haue conceyued in our myndes. But nowe let vs retourne agayne to our purpoſe.

Cicero

Cicero commeth by knowlege of the conspiracie. Cap. iv.

THE lawe Agraria beinge reiected, the consul intended fully to take peyne to redresse and amende manye thynges that were amisse in the common weale: And when he hard that many troublous cōsayles agaynst the state and quiete of the comon weale, were taken partely before and partely sithe he was chosen consul, he toke peyne bothe daye and nyghte, to the ende to knowe what felowes they were, that enterprysed and went about suche matters. Thus most diligently serchinge and inquerynge out the grounde of this rumour, he founde, that it came out fyrste by Fuluia, and priuely he sent for her to come and speake with hym, to thentent she shulde enforme hym what she knewe of the conspiracy: he promysed her great rewardes, and also other whyle he thretened her, that without she dyd open and confesse to hym the trouthe by fayre meanes, he wolde constrayne her therto by tortures and peynes. After that Fuluia hadde tolde hym, that she herde it of Curius, incontinent he sent for Curius. And with moche fayre intreatynge, monysshinge, with manye fayre promyses, and ofte thretenynge, he broughte to passe, that Q. Curius opened vnto hym all the faschion and order of the conspiracie. Then Cicero exhorted Curius to dissemble the matter as moch as he might, and so sent hym away in great hope and trust to be well rewarded. But the consull perceyuynge that Catiline was chefe and principall of the conspiracie, and dredynge lest Antonius his companion in office, a troublous man, and moste familiar frend to Catiline, shuld to hym consent,

and with hym conspyze (foz he vnderstode nowe, that Catiline had attempted hym therto, and that it was nothynge displesaunt to hym to here speake of the conspiracie) he lefte not to accuse hym, to stere hym to eschewe infamy, and pzouoked and exhozted hym to folowe that course, wherin is gotte honour and laude, and to agree and conformme hym selfe to them that were in dede good and honozable, and to holde on that waye, that he sawe his noble auncestours had gone. At length with wysedome and lowely diligence he remoued hym frome the counsayles of the conspiratours, and bzoughte hym to folowe his mynde.

¶ Cicero gaue ouer the busineffe of Fraunce to L. Antonius, and reconciled the chiualry of Rome to the fauour of the Senatours. Capitu. y.

THAN BY auctozitie of the Senatours, the pzouynce of Fraunce was decreed to Cicero, the cause and matter of tryumphes, with an army and money appoynted and furnished at the full. But he demed it farre better foz the common weale, if he coulde delyuer it from the snares and deceytes at whome, than if he shulde subdue that pzouynce to the publike weale. foz the vertue is no greatter to enlarge the marches of the empire, than to defend them that were al redy won. Noz the prayses of warre ar no greatter, then the ciuile policies. foz these consiste in counsayle and wysedome: the other stande in the handes of foztune. Wherfoze the consul, assemblynge a great multitude together, sayde. ¶ Bycause the tyme and nede of the common weale so

required

required it, he wolde not take on hym the busyneſſe of Fraunce. And leſte that his companion ſhoulde hynder hym in defendynge the common weale, by his wyſedome brought about, that the busynes of Fraunce was appoynted to Antonius. For if Cicero hadde not at that time by ſome honorable meanes remoued Antonius frō counſaylynge with Catiline, and from the citie, I woll saye as I thynke, of trouth the conſpiracie had not ben quenched without great effuſion of bloud. And bycauſe he ſawe, that Catiline laye dayly in awayte to attrappe hym: he went alwaye well and ſtrongely accompanied with his frendes, and vſed alſo and had about hym, for the ſafegarde of his lyfe, a pyked ſorte of luſtye yonge men of Aretia. Furthermore he made agremēt betwene the knyghtes of Rome, and the Senatours, which concorde beinge at all tymes moche neceſſary, was in that troublous ſeaſon of the common weale, moſte nedefull and expedient. For before that tyme, the ſeparatynge of the chiualrie or gentylmen, from the ſenatours, cauſed many yeres moſte greuouſe contention and ſtryfe betwene them. For where as is diuiſion and parte takyng in a common weale, there muſte nedes folowe not only ſedition, but alſo moſte peſtilent warres amonge themſelues. Nor I marualye not at all, that Catiline wente about to trouble the common weale, ſeinge he was of nature inclyned, and with ſoo many occaſions ſtyred and inflamed therto. This alſo made for hym, that euē the ſame tyme, theyr chyldren that were baniſſhed, came forthe and required the honorable roumes and offyces: whiche if they had opteyned, it was thought of trouthe they wolde haue conſpired with Catiline. And therfore the Conſull, vppon his owne hatred, without prompſe

of rewarde, kepte them from election.

Whan all this was done, the consull thoughte it yet no tyme, to disclose and open the conspiracye before the Senatours. Therfore he not with the publyke ayde and strength, but with his pryuate diligence, defended and kept hym selfe from Catilines wyles and snares: and dayly withstode and forbyd his dryftes, abated his boldenes and courage, and resysted his myscheuous purpose, without publyke ruffelynge or sterynge of the people. But the more prouision that the consull made, the more the conspiracy grewe and increased.

## Catilines endeuour and diligence, in augmentynge the Conspiracye. Cap. vi.



RVELY there was no strete, no corner in all the citie, but Catiline instanted, prouoked, temted, and stered. And to optayne his desyre, he suffred colde, thyrste, hunger, and trauayle. But specially he enticed the youth. Some of them he him selfe loued: and to somes loue he was ryght seruisable, for some he prepared and gotte harlottes, and for some horses: he taughte some the feates of armes, some he wanne with money, but many mo with his fayre flatterynge wordes. and if he perceyued any of them, to be a man of a stoute and valyant courage: hym fyrste wolde he wynne by vertue: but afterwardes, by diligence and custome, he wolde by lyttell and lyttell, drawe hym hedlynge into all vnlefull luste. For the maners and conditions of menne procede neyther of Nature her selfe (as many falsely do suppose) nor yet of lynage, but are ofte tymes planted in vs by those, with whome we lyue and

be

be conuersant. Catiline (as sayde is) was maruaylous subtyle and crafty, to styre yonge men to luste and pleasure: wherwith not onely that age, whiche is slyppery and vncertayne, but also graue men of auncientye, are attached. with this his variable nature, he dayly augmented the nombre of the conspiratours.

¶ And I am well assured, that Catiline at that tyme dyd not onely allure men to that mysceuouse dede, but also he made of counsayle with hym, certayne noble women, whiche had lyued wantonly, prodygally, voluptuously, and horyshely. For by thē he hoped, he mought eyther get theyr husbandes to take his parte, or elles to murther those that wolde not agree therto. Besydes all this, he dyd many thynges pryuelye: he had his assembles by night: & euer layde snares to attrap the consul.

¶ Nor Catiline letted not for all these so great businesses, to set his mynde and courage to requice the consulshyp: but beinge glad and mery, accompanyed with a lusty bande of yonge men, made ofte tymes lowly suite to the peple, and submyttyng hym selfe to the tribunes, made many great promyses, he humblye beseched, he wyllyngly offerynge hym selfe prayed, his fathers frendes he sued and sought to, he repayred ofte to the houses of some noble menne, by these craftes makynge his waye to come to the consulshyp.

## ¶ Howe Cicero opened the conspiracie before the Senatours. Cap. xii.

THAN the consul consyderynge these two myschiefes, that he coulde noo longer by his priuate diligence defende the common weale, and howe perylous it were for the common

common weale if Catiline shulde be consull: determy-
ned to enfoyme the Senatours of the matter, to pro-
rogue the election of offycers, and to make Catiline ha-
ted for his conspiracy, wherby he shulde be hyndered in
his requeste of consulshyp. For rumours, yea thoughe
they be false, and a feyned tale troubleth all to gether:
and changeth holly the opinion of the electours. Thus
when they were assembled in parliament, he enstructed
them, howe Cattline and other, associate with hym in
that mischiefe and madde dede, were secretly agreed to
oppresse the common weale, to slee the Senatours, and
murther the citizens. Than was it decreed, that on the
morowe shulde be none election, to thende they mought
in parliament treate of these matters.

¶ On the morowe, the consull opened in the parlya-
ment house many thynges of the conspiracye: and de-
maunded Catiline, if he wolde oughte saye, touchynge
those matters, that were layed to his charge. But Ca-
tiline, althoughe he were full of all fraude and lynge,
and whiche with great diligence and crafte augmented
those vices, vnto whiche he was naturally inclyned: yet
beinge pyrcked with his conscience, dyd not soo moche
clere and purge, as he opened and shewed him selfe fau
ty. For he sayde than, The common weale had two bo-
dies, one weake with a sycke feble heed: the other strog,
without a heed. to this body, sithe it had of hym wel de-
serued it, he wolde be heed as longe as he lyued. the
weake body, with a sycke feble heed, he called the con-
sent and agrement of good men together, the whiche he
wolde they shulde vnderstande, myght easely be broken
and ouercome of the other sorte (leude and naught) sith
he was theyr capitayne.

Cattline openeth hym selfe to the Se-nate.

But

¶But the Senate at that tyme vsed great myldnes, or rather pacience, that wolde not, concernyng those matters decree any thynge ageynst Catiline: namely sythe he a fewe days before, when Cato (the perpetual enneme of dishoneste and naughty persons) thretned hym to be punisshed, aunswered and sayde: If there were any fyre prepared to burue his goodes, he wolde not quench it with water, but with ruine. But therfore they were not harde to hym, partely bycause they dradde nothing, partely bycause they dradde, and partely bycause some fauoured hym. Yet I harde say, that this rumour spred abrode in the citie, dydde greatly hyndre Catiline in requeste of the Consulshyppe, althoughe many supposed it to be false.

¶In the meane whyle, the tyme instantynge to chose the consuls, Catiline hauynge prepared a great company (as it semed) determyned, if he were not elected consull, to make a slaughter in the fielde, and to slee his Competitors, Seruius Sulpice Postumius, L. Murena, D. Syllanus, but namely M. Tully the consul. But the consull, whan the daye of election was come, descended into the fielde, enuironed about with a great route of his frendes, and with a large and bryghte habergion, not whiche myght defende hym, (For Catiline vsed not to stryke at the sydes or bealye, but at the heed & necke) but that all good men shuld take hede, & when they sawe the consull in drede and peryll (whiche chanced afterwarde) to runne to succour and helpe hym. Thus the consull beinge defended with strengthe and power of his frendes, withstode the vengeable purpose of Catiline. But D. Syllanus, and L. Murena were chosen consuls, the whiche Murena was after accused

Competitor to he that desyareth lyke office.

of ambitiõ, by Seruice Sulpice, and M. Cato: whom Cicero the consull defended, whose moste goodly oratiõn, intitled, Pro L. Murena, remayneth to this daye.

Catiline prepareth all thinges for warre.

After Catiline perceyued he coulde not be consull to trouble and vexe the common weale, beinge a pryuate persone, determyned to make warre. And so all the money that he coulde heape to gether, he caused to be carted to Manlius beinge at Fesulas: and to hym he sente before axes, roddes, hoznes, trumpettes, armour, banars, and stremers foz warre, and also that same syluer Egle, to the wozship wherof he at home in his house had made an oratozye. Moze ouer he sent L. Septimius into the countrey Piceniũ, and C. Julius into Apulia, an other in to the countreye Camertes, an other into the dominion of Fraunce, to styrze vp those countreys: Foz into these partes as it were an infection, this myschiefe was entred. And he at home in Rome attempted many thynges. At the laste, the. xxvi. daye of Octobze, he determyned with a strong power violently to entre into the court, and after he had slaine the consul, and a great part of the Senatours, to go to Mãlius where his army lay. But M. Cicero, watching nyght and day, and knowing these matters, about the xix day of Octobze, called a great counsayle. He began with a pzoeme farre fetched, to declare the vengeable dzyftes & mischeuous imaginations of Catiline, he shewed them what strengthe and power he had pzepared to slee the Senatours, and howe he had sent C. Manlius into Hetruria to reyse an army, and that he wolde be in harneys ere the. xviii. day of Octobze, and howe he sent C. Julyus into Apulia. to styrze vp the shepeherdes. He sayde, he feared not Manlius noz Julius, but he was in dzede of

The court was the place whet the Senatours sate.

those,

those, whom he dayly sawe brag vp & downe in places of moste assembly, yea whom he sawe come into the Senate house amonge them: by whom the slaughter, burninges, & destructiō of the comon weale was prepared. ¶ Moze ouer he diligētly admonished the Senatours to be ware of suche perils that were imminent, to prouide foz the safegarde of theyz countrey, to defend and maintaine the common weale. Foz if they made not good prouision, it was not the Publication of the lawe Agraria, noz a common sedition, oz suche a hurte as beinge some tyme harde spoken of, is lamented: but those felowes haue secretelye concluded, to burne this citie, to mourder and slee the citizens, and to extincte the Romayne name. He sayde, there was no nation, no kynge, that was able to make warre to the Romaynes: there was no outwarde danger to be dzedde: within the citie were the snares layde, within was the pestilence shutte, within was the Troyan hozse, of whiche so longe as he was consul, they shulde neuer be oppzessed sleppyng: he sayd theyz ennemies ware not at the gates (whiche were a thynge moste greuous) but in the citie, in the market place, in the Palaice. After this he shewed howe this great myschiefe myght be remedied. Finally he admonished the conspiratours to leaue theyz furiousnesse, to laye noo mo snares foz his destruction, and noo moze to mynde murders, burnynges, robberies: and to perswade them selfe, that the consuls were ryght bigilant about the common weale, and that there were many noble offycers, many valyant and wozthy men, and suche as most hartely loued the common weale, which wolde moze sharpely do theyz endeuour foz the pzofit publike, than they wold foz the destruction therof: and that they

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those, whom he dayly sawe brag vp & downe in places of moste assembly, yea whom he sawe come into the Senate house amonge them: by whom the slaughter, burninges, & destructiō of the comon weale was prepared. Moze ouer he diligētly admonished the Senatours to be ware of suche peryls that were imminent, to prouide foz the safegarde of theyz countrey, to defend and maintaine the common weale. Foz if they made not good prouision, it was not the Publication of the lawe Agraria, noz a common sedition, oz suche a hurte as beinge some tyme harde spoken of, is lamented: but those felowes haue secretelye concluded, to burne this citie, to murder and slee the citizens, and to extincte the Romayne name. He sayde, there was no nation, no kynge, that was able to make warre to the Romaynes: there was no outwarde danger to be dzedde: within the citie were the snares layde, within was the pestilence shutte, within was the Troyan hozse, of whiche so longe as he was consul, they shulde neuer be oppzessed sleppng: he sayd theyz ennemies ware not at the gates (whiche were a thynge moste greuous) but in the citie, in the market place, in the Palaice. After this he shewed howe this great myschiefe myght be remedied. Finally he admonished the conspiratours to leaue theyz furiousnesse, to laye noo mo snares foz his destruction, and noo moze to mynde murders, burnynges, robberies: and to perswade them selfe, that the consuls were ryght bigilant about the common weale, and that there were many noble offycers, many valyant and wozthy men, and suche as most hartely loued the common weale, which wolde moze sharpely do theyz endeuour foz the profit publike, than they wold foz the destruction therof: and that they

shulde trust no moze vpon the slaughters of ryche men, so longe as he was consull, Foz seinge that all consuls shulde be carefull and diligent, to defende the common weale, yet ought they moste specially, whiche by the only fauour of the people of Rome, and not foz any noble actes, images, oz commendation of theyz auncetours, were made consuls. He sayde, they dyd nothynge, they went aboute nothynge, noz imagined any thynge, that could be hyd from hym. I knowe (qꝯ he) whom ye haue sente into Hetruria to reyse warre, whom into Apulia, who in to the countreye of Pice, and who is sente in to Fraunce. He sayde, they were farre wyde, if they suppo sed, that he wolde vse them alway gentylly. He sayd, he had not tolde all: and howe he had suffered moch. And that nowe it was nedefull to do sharpe punishemente: And that he myght so do, he had examples of his predecessours: whiche often tymes vpon theyz owne mindes dyd put suche myscheuous and vngratious persons to deathe. He sayde moze ouer, he marueyled greately, if they coulde not lyue honestly, why they wold rather die shamefully. Fynally he sayde, that not onely men, but also all the goddes wolde resiste and withstande suche and so great crueltie.

¶ The decree of the Senate, that the common weale shulde take none harme. Cap. viii.



L be it that there were many, that gaue no credence to the consulles wozdes foz the greatnesse of the cryme, and many thzough folyshenes coude not thynke it to be so, and many of the leude & naughty sozt fauoured the matter: yet the Senate

nate perſwaded by certayne noble and valyant menne, made a decree, that the conſuls ſhoulde take hede, that the common weale toke none hatme. This decree was not wonte to be made, but agaynſte deteſtable lawes, whan the people was moued to departe and leaue the citie, whan the citie was in great trouble and buſyneſſe, or in feare of ſedition. And by that one verſe or decree, the greatteſt power of all Rome was gyuen to the conſuls, as to reyſe an armye, to make warre, and to be the moſte hyghe iudges in all cauſes, as well at home as forthe in warfare.

Whan the. xxvi. day of Octobre came, by reaſon that the conſul had layed a gariſon of men aboute the Palaice, Catiline coude not accompyſhe his purpoſe. He quickely bethoughte hym to doo an other feate. The towne Preneſte ſtandynge not farre from Rome, is by naturall ſituation of the place verye ſtronge: the ſame, for many opportunities of the warre, Catiline purpoſed, the fyrſte daye of Nouembre, to take with aſſaute in the nyghte. But the conſull, forſeinge that in his mynde, furnyſſhed that fortreſſe ſtrongely with men of armes. Wherfore Catiline enterpriſed that feate in vayne. But afore that, there chaunſed a thynge (I thynke, euen by the goodnes of god) the whiche ſome what troubled Catilines mynde. for G. Piſo (of whome we ſpake before) in whom Catiline had greatteſte confydence and hope of victorye: was ſlayne of certayne Spanyarde horſe men, or (as ſome other ſay) he was kilde by Pompeys horſe men. And harde it was to iuge, whether his deathe was more ioyfull and pleaſant to good men, or heuy and ſorowfull to the conſpiratours.

How Manlius and other Catilines companions prepared warre abrode. Cap. viii.

IN THE MEANE whyle, Manlius with faire promisses reysed the commons in Hetruria, that were brought lowe with the calamitie of Syllas tyme, and very desyrous of a comotion. Farther he allured into this hope of robbery and spoyle, theues, shepeherdes, and al sortes of men, that he thoughte mete for the warre. Of the multitude that gathered to him from Aretia and Fesules, he made a great army: which remembryng Syllas victory, and being accustomed to robbe and spoyle, desyred greatly ciuile warre. They also, that Catiline had sente into dyuers places, imagined many thynges. For cloustrynge to gether in companyes by nyght, they prepared weapons, they styred vp seruauntes and slaues, they prouoked vnthryftes to violente deedes, to slaughter and robbery: places mete for theyr purpose they besieged with armed men, and dyd put men in greter feare than ieoperdye.

When those newes were harde at Rome, all the citie was troubled, ful of heuinesse, ful of feare. There was none yuell, none aduersitie, but good men feared it, and the leude and yuell sorte loked for it. The thretnynge wordes of Catiline were borne and spoken of all about, his lookes, his runnynge vp and downe, his riottous rout about hym, his cloustryng to gether of most leude and naughty persones, caused great drede and sedition in the citie. The ciuile dissentions, that hadde ben in tymes paste, were freshe in euery mans syght, the myserable beheadinges, the spoile and robbing of honest men,

the

the market place heaped full of deade bodies, and ouer flowen with bloud: the memory of those thynges made the citie sorowfull, and to lyue in great feare. The prodigies, and wonderfull tokens that felle, augmented the feare of the people. For it was reported, that M. Herennius, a free man of Rome made by Pompey, was in a fayre clere daye slayne with thonder, In the nyghte tymes flames of fyre and maruaylous bournyng of the ayre; there was harde noyse and clatteryng of harneis, thunder clappes, and horryble erthequakes, with many other terrible, and wonderful thynges. For the mone fayled in clerenesse, and the sonne shone moche bryghter and hotter than he was wonte to do. Thus writeth Cicero, in the seconde of his consulshyppe. More ouer he wryteth in the same boke, that the aperynge of blasing sterres, and dyuers terrible shappes sene by nyght, and the hedy motion of the planets, and the vehement runnynge to gether of the sterres, dyd pronosticate and signifie this conspiracy. But yet the southsayers answeres troubled moste mennes myndes. For L. Cotta, and L. Torquatus beinge consuls, many towres of the Capitoll were smytten downe with thunder, the images of the goddes immortall, and of the auncient noble Romaynes, were ouerthrowen with lyghtnynge: and also the image of Romulus with his nurse Lupa, were stricken frome heauen, and the brasen tables of the lawe molten: the Southesayers aunswered, that all those thynges betokened, burnyng, slaunghters, robbinges, spoylynges of temples, moolte bloudye warre amonge them selfes, and moste bytter bondage and thraldome of the Romaynes. And soo they commaunded a ryghte great image of Iupiter to be made, and the same to be

set

set on the toppe of a toure of the capitoll, Eastewarde, to loke toward the market place and the palaice: which image being set vp, they trusted, that Jupiter, lustring and beholdynge all thynges, wolde discouer the counsailes & intentes of those vngratious hopelostes. Ther foze euery man fearynge, and hastynge (as in peryll it is ofte wonte to be) they prayed to theyr goddes, and worshypped them: the matrones in deuout wise ranne to the aulters, they made vowes, they lamented, and bewayled theyr lyttel yong chyldren: what so euer noise or rushe they hard, they fered it was Catiline & Manlius. ¶ Then it was Decreed, that who so euer wolde detect the conspiracie, that was made agaynste the common weale, if he were a bandman, he shoulde haue his freedome, and an hundred sexters: if he were a free manne, beside pardone of punishement foz the matter, he shuld haue two hundred thousand sexters. Also it was decreed by the senate, that all places shulde be foztified with men of armes, and that the inferiour officers to se, that good watche and warde were kept throughe out all the citie. Furthermoze they decreed, that Q. Martius shulde be sente to Fesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, the Pretours, Q. Pompeyus to Capua, Q. Metellus Celer, into the cuntrey Picenum and Frãce. And to these men it was permytted to reyse an armye, and to do all other thynges foz the profyte and nede of the common weale.

¶ The oration of Manlius ambassadours to Q. Martius. Ca. xx.

VVHAN Q. Martius was come in to Hetruria, Manlius sent ambassadours to hym, whose wordes were in maner after this sorte.

¶ We take both god and man to wytnesse, that we dyd not arme vs to make warre on our countrey, or to doo any man wronge or iniurie: but to kepe and defend our bodyes from the crueltie of the pretors and vsurers, whose nature is soo fierce and fell, that not withstandyng they haue taken and spoiled vs of our goodly manours, landes, and possessions, and fynallye of all our goodes, and rayment to our backes, and haue lefte vs nothynge, but calamitie and nedynesse: yet not beinge satisfied with these our myseries, they wolde haue vs in continuall darkenesse, in perpetuall bandes, and closed in strong prisons, to ende our lyues. Their auarice, whiche they can not satisfye with huge sommes of money, they couet to contente with miseries and bloude of vs citezens. And seinge we haue delyuered vp all that euer we hadde, saue our lyues, ne haue reserued to our selues nothynge that was lefte vs for a monumente or remembraunce of our ancestours, we humbly pray, that beinge spoyled of honour, fame, and goodes, it may be lefull for vs to vse the benefyte of the lawe, whiche permytteth, that after a man hath loste his patrimony, his body shuld be fre out of durance: and that this benefite shuld not be take from vs, we lowely beseche ỹ Senate and people of Rome. Our predeceſſours (quod they) often tymes contented and payed mennes dettes of the common treasure. Money of the common treasure hath ben many a tyme dealed and dystrybuted amonge the people. The commons verye often haue armed theym selfes and taken parte together agaynst the nobles, for honours, ryches, and power. We wol no ryches nor power haue, we desyre not so moche as that, that is taken from vs. Let other take the honours, the ryches, the

prouinces, the lordshyppes, the triumphes. The vsu-
rers, worthy Capitayne, do possesse our manours, our
houses are open to them, and shutte ageynste vs: our
great housholdes and family are at theyr commaunde-
ment, we haue not one seruaunt: we be bare and haue
nothynge to helpe our selfe with: and are contente to
suffer and take pacience. What wyll they more? why do
they pursue vs? why do they so sharpely assayle vs? O
good lorde, what beastelye cruelties is this? They woll
not suffer vs moste wretched caytiues, to perysshe in our
lamentable miseries, they woll bereue vs of our lyues,
the whiche we leade forthe in greattest turment and so-
rowe: and seinge they be of all other mooste cruell, me
thynke it shulde be greatter pleasure for them, to suffer
vs to lyue thus wretchedly, than to slee vs. We beseche
the noble capitayne, that it maye be lefull for vs to lyue
in nedynesse, that it maye be leful for vs, seing our goo-
des be gone, after the maner of our forefathers, to haue
our bodies at lybertie, that the vsurers beinge content
with our goodes, shall not desyre our lyfes and bloude
to be spylte: that seinge they haue bereste vs of all that
euer we had, that they also take not from vs this light,
common to vs all. Whiche thynge worthy capitayne if
we can not opteyne, we haue determyned, rather to dye
with many, than to perysshe alone.

C. Martius answered the ambassadours and sayd,
that they had done bothe folysshely and proudely, that
they of theyr owne myndes, agaynst the lawes, and ma-
ners of theyr forefathers, had armed them selfes. It be-
houed them, if they wolde haue had any thynge, to haue
asked it of the Senate, and not to haue runne to hat-
neys: The Senate and people of Rome haue alwaye

ben

ben founde mercifull, and that nowe also, if they wolde require any thynge, they shulde fyrste laye awaye theyr harneys: leste it shoulde seme, that they eyther by vyolence, or els for drede wolde opteyne theyr purpose. And so than in lowely and humble wyse, to go vnto the Senate, and aske forgyuenesse for theyr offences: and that he doubted not, but they shulde opteyne, what soo euer they desyred of the senate. For the Senate hath alway vsed suche iustice and gentylnes, that they neuer denyed any man theyr helpe, that iustely desyred it. And that theyr parlyament house had alway ben for all nations, and namely for suche as were in misery and wanted succour, a castel and refuge. The ambassadours with that answere, returned ageyne to Manlius.

## ¶ The fury and fiersenesse of Catiline. Cap. xvi.

AND al be it fierce Catilme sawe the citie strongely kepte and defended with good watche and warde, and the consul very circumspecte and diligent to make prouision to withstande hym: yet he prepated and attempted his purpose his cruell mynde was styll occupied therupon. But he dyd nothynge, he pursued nothynge, he went about or pretended nothynge, but M. Cicero knewe it, and dyd let it: yet for all that he wolde not cesse to folowe his wycked wyll and purpose. Suche a great fury, the companion of myschiefe and audacitie, had embraced his vnbridled mynde and impoztune nature, that no drede, no reason, no peryll, none aduersitie, nor all thynges that went ageynst hym, coude make hym reuoke his vehement desyre. Therfore when he, this hopeloste, sawe,

that none of his attemptates went forward, he thought nowe to proue what he coulde do apertely and by open warre: for those thynges, that he had attempted priuely, came foule and crokedly to passe. He determyned to take his iourney to Manlius, and to augmente the army, before the Pretours had gathered theyr strengthe to gether: and with baners displayed to haste theym to the citie.

¶ And soo in the deade tyme of the nyght he assembled together in the house of M. Lecca, all the chiefe of the conspiracy, to councel with them, how this warre shuld be maynteyned. This nyghte of all tymes was mooste sharpe and bytter. Than all the partes and prouynces of Italy were distributed, than the daye that Catiline shulde take his iourney to the armye, was appoynted, than they ordered, in what state all other shulde stande that remayned behynde, than they constituted a description throughe all the citie of slaughter and burnynge. But those thynges were after this maner and fourme diuided amongge them: that Catiline shoulde take his iourney to the army, That Antonius shulde take and possesse Tuscayne, Marcus Cepurius Apulia, C. Marcellus Capua, and other shulde haue other places of Italy, Lentulus shulde remayne in the citie. Cassius and Statilius shulde set fyre on. xii. partes of the citie, Cethegus, and with hym Gabinius, shulde haue the procurement of the murther and slaughter that shoulde be done. The nyghte that they intended to accomplysshe these thynges, they ordeyned also, that whan Catiline with his army shulde approche to the citie, L. Beastia shulde make an oration, to stere the people to the enuye and hatred of Cicero, bycause he hadde wrothfully prouoked

uoked Catiline to reyse warre: and by that token, the same nyght folowynge, euery man shulde go about his busyneſſe. Theſe thynges thus ordered and doone, Catiline sayde, one thynge letted hym moche, that Cicero lyued: and that his wyl and mynde was, before he toke his iourney to the army, to oppreſſe hym: for with his wytte and counſell he wolde be a great lette and hynderaunce to them. Than C. Cornelius, and L. Vargunteius, knyghtes of Rome desyred, that they myght haue the dounge therof: and promyſed that they wold go erely in the mornynge to salute hym, and so for good loue and amitie beinge let in, they wolde ſle hym in his bed. But the conſull, hauynge knowlege of this thynge by M. Curius, fortified and fenced his houſe with greate ſtrengthe of men: and kepte his gates shutte ageynſte theym that came to ſlee hym in the mornynge. Some wryte: that it was not L. Vargunteius, but C. Cethegus with C. Cornelius, that vndertoke to ſlee the conſull. But it appereth in Saluſt and Cicero, that they erre in this, as they do in many other thynges.

¶ When the conſpiratours had ordeyned, inſtytuted, and prepared thoſe thynges, the conſulles mynde was troubled with many great & greuous thoughtes, whiche wold not ſuffer hym to take reſte neyther nyght nor daye. Fyrſte, he was very carefull, howe he myghte defende the common weale, whiche was at that tyme a great thyng and right difficile, seinge he had to do with a man ſo valiante, ſo vehement, ſo cruel, ſoo wyly, and ſo watchefull about myſchiefe. Secondly, he was carefull for the treaſons and ſnares, that were dayly ſo dyuyſed and layde for hym, that it ſemed they coulde by no meanes be eſchewed, for the ſecrete and hid hatredes

vtāde hatred.

are moze peryllous, than the manifest and open. For he that is an open enemy, in takynge good hede may eafely be eschewed: but the cloked enmyties often tymes oppzessen, before it can be perceyued what it is. Wherefore, seing that al the conspiratours desyzed moch to destroye the consull, and who they were, was verye harde to knowe, he muste nedes mistrust some of his frendes. This also was an other cause, whiche moche moued the mynde of the ryght worthy consull, that he coude with no diligence, with no defence, with noo meanes turne Catilines courage. Wherfore the consull beinge vexed and troubled with these so many and soo great difficulties, and that at one selfe tyme, determyned to dysclose the matter to the senate: for so moche as those matters, whiche he wold declare, semed vnto some incredible, for the greate heynousenes of the mysschiefe, in the ofte and many thynges openynge to the Senate, his wordes shulde be the better beleued.

## Cicero and Catiline in the Senate. Cap. xvii.

SO THE nexte daye after that he was almoste slayne at home in his house, he assembled the Senatours in the temple of Jupiter Stator: and dysclosed to theym all the matter: whither whan Catiline was come, whether it were to auoyde suspition, or elles to clere hym selfe, no man saluted hym, And moze ouer many of the Senatours, on that syde that he came, forsoke theyr seates, and lefte theym voyde and bare. Than M. Tullius thought it beste with an oration (wherin he was excellent) to feare and abasshe hym, and to commaunde hym to departe out of the citie: thynkyng this in his mynde,

that

that if al the conſpiratours with Catiline wold departe out of the citie, they myght be eaſely ſubdued abrode: or if they taryed behynde, without Catiline, they ſhuld be but weake and feble. For Catiline alone in the cite was dredefull. He ſerched out all thynges, he moſt diligently prouided all thinges: he knewe howe to preuente, to begyle, to deceyue, to diſſemble, to attempte, to ſollicitate, to perſwade, to moue, to watche, to labour, to trouble for the whyle, and to wreſt and bowe hyther and thyther. He appoynted euery one of the conſpyratours certayne buſynes to do: but yet whan he had commanded any thynge to be doone, he thoughte it was not accomplyſhed, excepte he hym ſelfe ouerſawe all thynges, he ranne about, he made prouiſion. So that if the conſull had not dryuen hym out of the citie, ſurelye the common weale had ſuffred great calamitie. Some man woll ſay: Wherfore than dyd not the conſul apprehend and take hym? Why dydde he not put hym to death? I anſwere: Bycauſe he thought it not profytable. For excepte it were a fewe good men, all wolde ſaye, that Cicero had not done nobly, but cruelly: and alſo he well perceyued, that by his deathe the conſpiracy ſhuld be a lytel while repreſſed, but not extincted for euer: for being oppreſſed with enuy, he could not purſue the other conſpiratours. Therfore for theſe cauſes, coueting to dryue Catiline out of the citie, he roſe vp, and with this moſte godly oratiō he inueyed againſt L. Sergius Catiline.

¶ The oration of M. T. Cicero agaynſte L. Sergius Catiline.

HOVVE longe wylte thou O Catiline, abuſe our pacience? Howe longe ſhall this thy fury delude vs? To what ende ſhall the bragge of thyne vnbrydled

boldeneſſe

boldenesse come? Do not the nyghtely defences of the Palaice, the watchynge of the citie, the feare of the people, the concourse and agrement of good men, this moste stronge place of the Senate, the regarde and countenaunce of these men nothynge moue the? Dost thou not perceyue that thy counsayl is bewrayed? Dost thou not se, that thy conspiracy is openly knowen to all the Senatours? Dost thou thynke, that any of vs is ignorant what thou dydst the laste nyght, and the nyghte before, where thou waste, whom thou dydst assemble together, or what counsayle thou tokeste? Oh what a worlde is this? Oh what maners be these? The Senate doth vnderstande this thynge, the consul dothe se it, and yet he lyueth. Lyueth he? Ye verely, he commeth also into the parlyamente house, and is parte taker of the common counsayle. He dothe marke, and with his eies doth appoynt euery one of vs that shall be slayne. And we seme to playe the men for the common weale, if we eschewe the fury and violence of this man. Thou oughtest Catiline longe sence to haue ben put to deathe by the commaundement of the consull. This pestylence and mischiefe, which longe ago thou dydst imagin agaynst vs, shulde haue be layde vpon thyne owne necke. If the noble man P. Scipio, the hyghe byshoppe, and a priuate man, slewe Tiberius Gracchus, meanelye troublynge the state of the common weale: shall we the Consulles suffre Catiline, whiche desyreth with fyre and slaughter to destroye the hole worlde? I ouerpasse the olde hystoryes, howe M. Tiberius Hala slewe with his owne hãd Sp. Aelius, that wente aboute to alter the common weale. Suche vertue and power in olde tyme was in this common weale, that the worthy men wold punishe

a per-

a pernicious and a naughty citezen moze sharpely, than a cruell ennemie. We haue agaynste the Catiline a behement and greuous decree, we lacke no counsayle, we lacke none aucthozitie of this hyghe courte, concerning the state of the common weale: But we the consuls, we the consuls (I speke it openly) be to slacke in this matter. In tyme paste the Senate decreed, that L. Opimius the consull shulde take hede, that the common weale toke no damage: and the selfe same day, the noble bozne man C. Gracchus was slayne, foz certayne suspitions of a sedition. And M. Fuluius, whiche had bene consull, was slayne, with his chyldzen. And by suche an other decree, the common weale was cõmitted to C. Marius and L. Valerius the consuls. Dyd deathe and the punishement of the common weale stay L. Saturnius the pzotectour of the commontie, and C. Seruilius one daye? But this is the .xx. daye that we haue suffered the sharpe auctho3itie of these wozthy Senatours to wate dull and blunte. Foz we haue a lyke decre, but it is closed vp in tables, and as it were put vp in the shethe: by the which decree of the Senatours, thou Catiline shuldest sozthwith haue ben put to deathe. But thou arte a lyue, and doste lyue, not to ceese and leaue of, but to confirme and increace thy boldenes. My desyze chosen fathers is to be courteys and mylde, but it is not my desyze in so gret ieoperdy of the common weale, to be seme dissolute oz negligent. Surely I do nowe condempne my selfe of foly and wyckednesse. There is an armye in Italy reysed vp agaynste the common weale, they haue pytched at Fesulas in Hetruria. The nombze of our ennemies dothe increace dayely moze and moze. But the chiefe of that army, and capitayne of our ennemies, ye

se here within the walles, yea in the senate, dayely imaginynge some greate mischiefe agaynste the common weale. If I (o Catiline) shulde commande the to be taken and put to deathe, I nede not to doubte, but that al good men wolde saye, that I were rather to slowe than to cruell in this dede. Neuer the lesse, it that oughte to haue ben doone longe sence, I am not yet (for certayne skyll) determyned to do. But I wol than at length put the to death, whan there shal no man be found, so leude, so farre paste all hope, nor so lyke the in conditions, the whiche wyll not playnely affyrme, that I haue doone it ryghtuously. As longe as there is any man, that dare defende the, thou shalt liue, & so thou shalt lyue, as thou lyuest now, beset about with my manyfolde and sure de fẽces, that thou shalt not ones moue or stirre ageinst the cõmon weale. Also many eies & eares shal (as they haue doone styll hytherto) warelye watche and harken what thou doste and sayste, and thou not perceyuynge it. For what shuldest thou Catiline, yet loke for? if neyther the obscuritie and darkenes of the nyghte can hyde thy detestable assembles, nor no priuate house with his wals kepe in the voyce of thy conspiracye? If euerye thynge come to lyght, if euery thynge burste out, change nowe this thy mynde, gyue credence to me, forgette the murther and burnynge (that thou intendeste.) We vnderstande and knowe all thy secrete workynges and imaginations. If thou hast forgot, I wol put the in minde of them. Dost thou not remembre, that I sayd in the senate, the .xii. kalendes of Nouembre, that by a certayne daye (whiche shulde be the. ix. kalendas of Nouembre) C. Manlius the man of garde and chiefe doer in thy bold entrepryse, wolde be in harneys? Was I deceyued

Catiline,

Catiline, eyther in the thynge, whiche is so greate, soo cruell, and so incredible, ozelles in the daye? I sayd farthermoze in the senate, that thou hadste determyned to murder the noble men the. v. kalendas of Nouembze, euen than whan many of the chiefe rulers were fled frō Rome, not so moche foz theyz owne sauegarde, as to repzesse and withstande thy detestable entrepzise. Canste thou deny, but that (thzoughe my strength, pzouysion, and diligence) thou were so beset on all sydes, that thou coudeste not ones sturre oz moue agaynste the common weale, whan thou saydst, thou waste yet well contente (though the other were fledde) with the slaughter of vs that taryed styll? What, hopedst not thou the fyrste day of Nouembze, to haue taken Pzeneste by assaulte in the nyght? Dyddest not thou perceyue that the towne was strongly foztified, defended, and kepte by my commandement, by my garryson, warde and watches? Thou doste nothynge, thou purposest nothynge, thou imagenest nothynge, whiche I not onely here of, but also see it, and playnely perceyue it. Aknowlege nowe with me that other nyght: and thou shalte vnderstande, that I am moze vigilant sharpe and quicke foz safegarde and defence of the common weale, than thou arte to destroy it. I saye, thou camest the other nyght amonge thy falcarios (I wyll be playne with the) Thou and many other, felowes of thy madnesse and myschiefe, assembled together the laste nyght in the house of M. Lecca. Darest thou deny this? why spekest not? If thou woldeste denye it, I can pzoue it. Foz I see here in the Senate some of the, that were there to gether with the. O good lozde where be we? what a common weale haue we? In what citie lyue we? There are here, euen here amonge

He calleth the cōspirators falcarios, for as with sythes they purposed with the sword and fyre to ouerrunne al the citie

vs, of our sorte, moste honorable fathers, in this moste graue and constant counsayle of al the worlde, the whyche imagin to destroye vs, this citie, yea and the whole worlde. I the consull do see them, and desyre to knowe your myndes concernyng the common weale: For those whiche I ought to haue dispatched with the sworde, I haue not yet wounded with my worde. Thanne thou Catiline, wast that nyghte in Leccas house: there thou dydst dystribute and diuide the prouinces and shyres of Italy: thou dydst appoynt whither euery man shoulde goo: thou choosest out those that thou woldeste leaue at Rome, and those that shulde go with the: thou dydste lymitte what partes of the citie shuld be set on fyre: and that thou woldeste than departe out of the citie, Thou saydst, that there was nowe none other let of thy iourneye, but that I lyued. There were two knyghtes of Rome stept forthe to rydde the of this care, whiche promysed the same nyghte, that they a lyttell before daye, wold slee me in my bedde. I was scarsely departed from you, whan we sate in counsayle, but that I had knowlege of all these matters: I fortyfyed myne house more strongely than it was before, with men of armes and other prouision: whan the selfe same men came, whiche thou dydst sende to salute me in the morynge, I shutte them out, of whose commynge at the same tyme, I enformed many noble men before. Seinge than Catiline, that this that I haue sayde is true, gette the forwarde thyther as thou haste appoynted: departe ones oute of the citie: the gates are open: trudge forthe. Thy souldiours that Manlius hath reysed, desyre the, theyr capitayne, ouer longe tarynge from them. Take all thy felowes with the, or at the leaste wise the moste parte of them.

them. Make clene the citie of them. Thou shalte rydde me from great drede, soo that the walle be betwene me and the. Thou canste nowe no longer be conuersaunte with vs: I can not beare it, I can not endure it, I may not suffer it. We ought hyghly to thanke the goddes immortall, and Iupiter Stator, the moste auncient defender of this citie, that we haue so ofte tymes escaped this so cruell, so horrible, and so greuouse pestylence to the common weale. The good estate of the common weale shulde not so ofte stande in danger in (me) one man. As longe as thou Catiline, dydst lye in awayte for me, elected to be consull, not with the publike aide of the citie, but with myne owne priuate dilygence I defended my selfe. But at the laste election of the consuls, whan thou woldeste haue slayne me the consull, and thy competytours in the fielde, I with the helpe and strength of my frendes, withstode thy detestable enterprise, without any vproze or publyke rufflynge amonge the people. And as often as thou wenteste about to hurte me, I my selfe withstode the, not withstandynge that I saw, that my destruction wold redounde to the great calamyty of the common weale. But nowe it is manyfeste, that thou goste about to destroy the common weale, the tēples of the goddes immortall, the edifices of the citie, to slee al the good citizens, & fynally thou calleste al Italye to vtter ruine and desolation. Wherfore, bycause I dare not do it that best is & moste agreable with the discipline of our forefathers, I wol do that, ꝑ is most easy touching seueritie, & most profitable for the cōmon welth. For if I shuld commande the to be put to deth: the other conspiratours, which is a strong band, shuld remayne styl in the common weale. But if thou (wherunto I exhorted the

whyle ere) woldest go thy waye, the great and stinking pompe of thy companions, so hurtefull to the common weale, shulde be drawen out of the citie. What meanest thou Catiline? Doubtest thou Catiline, to do that thing at my commaundement, whiche thou were wyllynge to do of thy selfe? The consull commaundeth the ennemye to departe out of the citie. Dooste thou aske me? what into exile? No, that is not my commaundement: but if thou wolt do by my counsayl, I aduise the so. For what is it Catiline, that maye nowe delyte the in this Citie? In the whiche there is no man, excepte the hopelostes of this conspiracy, but he feareth the, no man but he hateth the. What blotte of domisticall fylthynes is there, wherwith thy lyfe is not defyled? what priuate dishonestie or shame is there, wherwith thou arte not defamed? what luste of the eies, what lewde acte of the handes, what vngratious dede of al the body, hath escaped the? what ponge man is there, to whom, beinge snared with thy corrupte enticementes, thou hast not ministred eyther weapons to do myschiefe, or an harlotte for bodely luste? And nowe of late, whan with deathe of thy fyrste wyfe, madeste thy house voyde for thy newe maryage: dydst thou not also with an incredible offence augment that myscheuous dede? whiche thynge I let passe, and am well content it be not spoken of: to the ende that it shulde not be noted, that so abominable a dede was eyther commytted within this citie, orels not punisshed. I ouer passe thyne vnlucky chance of pouertie, the whiche thou shalte well fele and perceyue at the nexte sessyon of parlyament.

Kleynge his fyrst wives son.

¶ I come nowe to those thynges, which do not apperteyne to the priuate shame of thy vyces, not to thy scarsitie,

ſitie, nede, and ſylthynesſe: but vnto the highe eſtate of the common weale, and vnto the lyues and welfare of vs all. Can the lyghte of this lyfe Catiline, Can breathynge of ayre be pleaſante vnto the? ſeynge thou arte certayne, that all theſe men do knowe, that the laſt day of December, Lepidus and Tullus beinge conſulles, thou ſtodeſt where the conſuls be choſen, with a darte in thy hande, and a company of men prepared to ſle the conſuls, and chiefeſt rulers of the citie? and nother any wyſedome, or the drede that thou haddeſt, but the good chance and fortune of the common weale withſtode thy myſcheuous purpoſe and fury. But I lette paſſe thoſe thinges (for they be not vnknowen, nor it was not long after, ere they were done) Howe ofte woldeſt thou haue ſlayne me, elected conſull? howe ofte beinge Conſull? Howe many thyne aſſautes, ſo pretended, that it ſemed they coulde not be auoyded, haue I eſchewed with a litle declynynge or bowynge of my body? Thou doſt nothynge, thou preuayleſt nothynge, thou goeſt about no thyng, but that I know it in tyme conuenient: and yet thyne endeuoire and wyll to myſchiefe ceſſeth not. How ofte hath this thy daggar ben wronge out of they handes? Howe ofte hath it fallen out of thy hande by ſome chaunce? Yet coudeſt thou not be longe without it. How thou haſte halowed and bowed it I can not tell, thou thynkeſt it neceſſary to be ſtycked in the conſuls bodye. But nowe what a lyfe leadeſte thou? For I woll talke with the, as I ſemed not to be moued with hatred, as I ought to be, but with mercy, wherof thou arte vnworthy. Thou cameſt whyle ere in to the Senate, whiche of this ſo great an aſſembly, of ſo many thy frendes and kynſmen dyd ſalute the? If this thynge neuer chaunced to

Than and there it was not leful to bere a weapon.

Thy daggar. i. thine enterpriſe.

ced to any man, as farre as men can remembre, doste thou loke for rebukefull wordes, beinge condempned with the most greuous iudgement of silence? Howe is it, that at thy commynge those seates be lefte voyde? What meaneth it, that all those that haue ben consuls, whiche thou haste ofte appoynted to be slayne, as sone as thou sateste downe by theym, forsoke that syde, and lefte the seates voyde and empty? With what hart canst thou suffer it? Surely if my seruantes shulde on suche wyse dreade me, as al thy good citezens feare the, I wold thynke it conuenient to forsake myne house. Dost thou not deme it good for the to voyde the citie? And if I saw my selfe for iniurie so greuously suspected and hated of my citezens, I wolde rather be out of theyr syght, than they all with theyr hatefull eies, shulde se me. And seinge thy conscience causeth the to aknowlege, that for thyne offences they all iustely beare the, the hatred, whiche nowe of a longe season hath ben to the due: Doste thou doubte to eschewe the syght and presence of them, whose myndes and senses thou dost vexe and trouble? If thy parentes shulde be afrayde of the, and thy frendes hate the, nor by no meane thou coudest please them: as I thinke, thou woldest go some whither out of theyr syght. Now thy countrey, (which is as a mother to vs all) hateth and dredeth the, and hath a longe season iudged the, to imagine nothynge elles but her destruction: wolte thou neyther stande in drede of her authoritie, nor folowe her iugement, nor feare her power? Whiche reasoneth with the Catiline, spekynge as it were on this wyse. There hath these many yeres none yll dede benne doone but by the, nor no haynous offence without the. Thou aloone for slaynge of many citezens, vexinge and

spoylynge of our frendes and alies, hast escaped freely without punishement. Thou not only dydst boldely neglecte and despise lawes and iudgementes, but also ouerthrowe and breake them. Those thynges afore sayd, although they were not to be suffered, yet as I myghte, I haue borne them. But now it can not be suffered, that I shulde be all in drede of the alone, nor that Catiline for euery cracke shulde be feared, nor no counsayle taken ageynste me, that shulde abhorre thy wycked dede. Wherfore get the hence, and deliuer me from this feare. If it be true, that I be not oppressed: if it be false, that at the laste I maye cesse to be afrayde.

¶ If thy countreye (as I haue sayde) shoulde reason with the those thynges, oughte she not to opteyne, all thoughe she were not able by strengthe to doo it: what ment it, that thou yeldeste thy selfe to be in warde: To what intent saydst, that to auoyde suspicion, thou woldest dwel with M. Lepidus: And whan he wold not receyue the, thou camst boldely to me: and desyredst, that thou myghteste be kepte at home in myne house. And whan thou hadst of me also receyued this answere, that I coude in no wyse be in safegard with the in one house to gether, that am in great peryll, bycause we be bothe within one citie: thou camst to M. Metellus the maire, and beinge reiected of hym, thou wentest to thy compation, that mooste worthy man M. Marcellus, whome thou thoughtest wolde moste diligently kepe the, mooste sagely intreate for the, and moste boldely gyue iudgement for the. But how farre out of prison and bandes shulde he seme to be, the which alredy iudgeth hym selfe worthy to be in warde: Then seynge it is soo Catiline, doubteste thou (if thou canste not here remayne in quiet)

to go into some other countrey, and commytte this thy lyfe escaped from many iust and due punishementes, to flyght and wildernesse? Thou sayste, Put it to the Senate. Dooste thou desyre me? And if it please the Senate to decree, that thou be banyshed, sayste thou, that thou wylte obey? Nay, I wyll not referre it to them: for that is contrarye and ageynste my nature: but yet I wyll cause the to vnderstand, what they deme of the. Get the out of the citie Catiline: delyuer the cõmon weale from feare: go in to exile, if thou loke to here this word spokẽ. What is the matter Catiline? Why dooste thou tarye? what, dooste thou not marke the sylence of those? They suffer, they holde theyr peace. why, dooste thou loke for the auctoritie of theym, spekynge, whan by keppynge of silence, thou knowest theyr wyll and mynde? But if I shulde haue sayde as moche to this noble ponge manne P. Sertius, or to the moste myghty man M. Marcellus: the senatours wold (and that lawfully) haue layde violent handes vpon me the consull, yea beinge in this temple. But as touchyng the, Catiline, whan they be inquiet, they approue, whã they suffre, they decerne: whã they hold theyr peace, they crye aloude. Nor they onely, whose autorite is so noble, or whose life most profitable, but also those right worshipful knyghtes & honest gentylmen of Rome, yea and other moste valyant citezens, whiche enuiron and stand about the Senate, whose ofte and great resorte hither, whose fauour and affections, and whose wordes thou myghteste a lyttell whyle ere, haue sene, perceyued, and playnely harde: whose handes and weapons I can scasely kepe from the: the same can I easely enduce, that they shall folowe after the euen to the gates, if thou wilt leaue those thinges, which

a whyle

a whyle ago thou dydst imagen to destroye. But what do I saye? that any thynge can breake the of thy purpose? that thou wolte euer correcte thy selfe? that thou wolte mynde any flyght? that thou wolt thynke on any exile? Oh that the goddes immortall wolde sende the this mynde. And thoughe I see, howe greuous a tempest of hatred, if not at this presente tyme, by reason of the freshe remembrance of thy detestable dedes, in time to come thyne exile induced by myne oration, shal styrre vp ageynste me: yet I care lyttell for it, soo that this be thy priuate calamitie, and the common weale cleane deliuered frome peryll. But it is not to be required, that thou shuldest be remoued frō thy vices, that thou shuldeste dreade the punishementes of the lawes, that thou shuldest apply thy selfe to the common weale according as the tyme requireth. For thou Catiline, arte not the man, whom eyther shame can euer withdrawe from filthy luuynge, or feare from peryll, or reason from furye & madnes. Wherfore (as I haue oft said) get the away. And if thou wylte cause me (as thou sayste) thyne ennemye to be hated, get the streyght waye into exile. I shal with great difficultie beare mens wordes, if thou wylte this do. I shal scasely be able to susteyne the burthen of this yuell wyll, if thou at the consuls commaundement wilte go into exile. But if thou haddest rather doo that that may be for myne honour and prayse: trudge hence with thy cruell company of yll doers, get the to Manlius, styrre vp the naughty citezens, seperate thy selfe from the good, make warre vpon thy countrey, reioyce in wicked robbery, that men maye se, that thou arte not by me dryuen hence, to dwell amonge straungers: but called to come to thyne one men. And yet, wherto shuld

I bydde the go: seinge I knowe, thou hast sente forthe certayne, whiche armed tary thy commynge at Forum Aurelium: seinge I knowe, what daye thou haste appoynted and promysed to be with Manlius: and also seinge that I knowe, thou hast sent thyther before that syluer Eigle, the whiche I truste shal be the destruction and deathe of the and all thyne, to the whiche thou madest an oratorie of thy detestable dedes at home in thine house. Howe canst thou long be without that Eigle, to the whiche thou were wonte to do sacrifice, when thou dydst intende any manslaughter: frome whose altare thou haste often tymes retired thy wycked hande to the sleinge of some citezin: At the laste thou wylte gette the thyther as thyne vnbridled luste and fury hath longe ago violently drawen the: for this to do is noo greife to the, but an incredible pleasure. Unto this madnes Nature hath borne the, will hath exercised the, and Fortune hath kepte the. Thou dydst neuer desyre quietnesse, nor pet warre, excepte it were detestable. Thou haste gotten to the a company of suche as are yll and dishonest, men drowned in naughtynesse, vtterly set on myschiefe, beggerly hope lostes. Here, what gladnes can the gladde: what ioye can the reioyce: what pleasure can the please: whan in this thy so great a nombre thou shalte neyther here nor se one good man. To this sorte and fascion of lyfe, those thy labours, that are commonlye spoken of, haue ben exercised: To lye vpon the grounde, not onely to laye sige to some harlot, but also to do some other mysdede. To watche, not onelye tyll men were a slepe, that thou myghteste haue theyr wyues at thy pleasure, but also to murther and spoyle. Thou hast, wherin thou mayst make a shewe of thy noble sufferance, of hunger,

colde,

colde, and extreme pouertie, with the whiche thou shalt shortely perceyue thy selfe confounded. I so moche preuayled, whan I put the by the consulship, that thou beinge banyshed shuldst rather attempte it, than beynge consull myghtest vexe and trouble the common weale. And that thy detestable entrepryse shulde rather be called a robbery than a warre. Nowe moste honorable fathers, as I do detest and eschewe in maner a iuste complaynte of my countrey, so I beseche you, marke diligently the thynges that I shall tel you, and prynt them inwardely in yout myndes.

¶ For if my countrey, which is moche derer to me than my lyfe, if all Italy, if the hole common welthe shulde saye thus to me: Marcus Tully, what dost thou? wilt thou suffre hym to go his waye, whom thou hast found an open ennemy, whom thou seeste, muste be the cappytayn of the warre, whom thou perceyuest our ennemies loke for to be theyr chiefe leader, the auctour of this mischiefe, the principall of the conspiracy, the reyser vp of bande men and naughtye citezens? Dothe it not seme, that thou rather bryngest hym into the citie, than sende hym out of the citie? wylte thou not commaunde this felowe to prison, to be violentely handeled, and with most cruell turment to be put to deathe? what thynge letteth the? The custome of our forefathers? They beinge out of aucthoritie haue full ofte in this common weale, punysshed with deathe the naughtye detestable cytezens. Do the lawes, whiche were stablysshed to punysshe citezens founde coulpable, lette the? But they in this citie, whiche do agaynste the commeon weale, enioye not the pryuilege of citezens. Dost thou feare the enuy and hatred of those that are to come? Surely thou shalte gyue

the

the peple of Rome ryght hygh thankes, the which haue aduanced the, being a man of smal reputation, without commendation of thyn ancestours, from one honorable office to an other, euen to the most hygh rowme of all, & that in thy florishyng age: if thou for hatred, or for drede of any other peryll, dost not neglecte the sauegarde and welthe of thy citezens. But if there be any feare of hatred, the enuy of seueritie and fortitude is not more beheinently to be dredde, than slouthe and neglygence in punishynge yuell dedes. Whan Italie shall be wasted with warre, whan the cities shal be vexed and troubled, whan the buyldinges shal be burnte, dost thou not suppose, thou shalte be burned with the flame of enuy? To those most constante wordes of the common weale, and to these mennes myndes that agree to the same, I wyll in fewe wordes make answere. If I had demed it best, most honorable faders, to put Catilme to deth, I wolde not haue giuen this gladiatour one houre space to liue. For if the most excellent and noble citezens, not only did not defyle them selfes by sleunge of Saturninus, bothe the Gracchus, and Flaccus, and many other afore time, but also gat therby great worshyp: surely I ought not to drede enuy hereafter, for puttynge to death this murderer of citezens. And albe it, moste greuouse enuye is lyke to folowe, yet I haue alwaye bene of this mynde, that enuy gotte by fortitude, I haue reputed glory, not enuye. Not withstandynge there be here some Senatours, the whiche eyther see not those thynges that are imminent, or els they dissemble as thoughe they dyd not se them. The whiche with they^r softe sentences, haue nourished Catilines hope, and not beleuynge it, haue corroborate and made stronge the conspiracy, begynnynge

to

Gladiatores were men that foughte with swordes, vnarmed,

Fortitude valyante courage, ferynge nothinge but shame, mā fully beareynge and sufferynge prosperite & aduersitie.

to spynge: whose auctho̅itie many folowynge not only suche as are dishoneste, but also ignorant and without knowlege; wolde say, if I shuld punishe this man, that I had not done nobly but cruelly. Now I perceiue well, if this man be ones come to Manlius army, whether he intendeth to go, that there is no man so folysshe, whiche shall not se the conspiracy playnely disclosed, no man so leude and dishoneste, whiche wyl not confesse the same. This man alone beinge put to deathe, I perceiue that this tribulation of the common weale maye be a lyttell whyle repressed, but not for euer extincted. But if he woll arryue at Manlius army, and thyther gather to gether from all places the other his felowes of shyp-wracke, this rype myschiefe and pestylence of the common weale shuld not only be extincted and cleane quenched, but also the stalke and sede of al yuels and incommodities. For we moste prudent fathers, haue ben long in danger of this cõspiracie and snares layd for vs: but I can not tell you by what meanes, this sore of all detestable dedes, olde fury and brayneseycke boldenesse, dyd waxe rype, & braste out in the tyme of my consulshyp. If that of soo great a nombre of rebelles and robbers this one man alone shulde haue ben put to deathe, we shuld paraduenture for a lyttel whyle seme to be releued from care and drede: but the peryl shuld remayne styl, closed within the beynes and bowelles of the common weale. As men ofte tymes sicke of a greuous disease, and vexed with a burnynge ague, if they drynke colde water, seme at the fyrste to be well refreshed, and yet afterwardes are more greuously handeled: So this disease, whiche is in the common welthe, relieued with the punishement of this man, shoulde more vehementlye greue the

residewe

residue of the citizens. wherfore let those that be naught departe, let them seperate them selfes from the good, let them be gathered together into one place, finally let the walles (as I sayde before) seuer theym frome the good men, let them leaue lying in awayte aboute the consuls house, let them leaue standynge about the pretors iugement place, to besiege the palayce with swordes, to prepare mallettes and torches to set fyre on the citie: finally let it be written in euery one of theyr forehedes, what good wyll and mynde they beare to the common weale. I promyse you moste honorable fathers, that in vs the consuls shall be founde so great diligence, in you suche authoritie, suche power and strengthe in the knyghtes and gentylmen of Rome, and suche consent and agreement of all good men, that ye shall see by Catilines departynge euery thynge opened, playnely dysclosed, oppressed, reuenged. with all these thynges Catiline, the hyghe preseruation of the common weale, with thyne owne myschiefe and confusion, and with the destruction of them, which haue bene confederate with the in all damnable dedes and murders, trudge hence to thy wicked and detestable warre. And thou o Iupiter, whome we name the stablisher of this citie and empire, with the same fauorable aspecte that this citie was buylded by Romulus, dryue and expulse this man and his felowes frome thyne aultars and other temples, from the edifices of the citie and walles, from the lyfe and goodes of all the citezens: and punysshe with eternall peynes in this worlde and in an other, all the enimemies to good men, and fooes to theyr countrey, the robbers of Italy, and suche as are confederate with them in a detestable felowshyp to do myschiefe.

Mallettes were lyke arrowes, whiche were caste burnynge.

Inuocatiō

whan

Whan the consul hadde ended his wordes, Catiline was so confounded and troubled with his oration, that not onely his great witte and exercise in pleading, wher in alwaye he was very excellent, but also his vnshamefastnesse, wherin he passed all other, sodeynelye fayled hym. With so great contention of mynde, witte, voyce, sydes, and graue gesture of the body spake the consull. His wordes flashid in Catilines face as it were the leam of a bryght burnynge torche, that the mooste vnshamefaste man, and to speake moste redy, durst not open his mouthe, or speake one word for hym selfe: but sodeynly dyd flee out of the Senate, with certayne manassynge and cruell thretnynges. Wherfore Cicero wrytynge to Brutus, moste sobrely prayseynge that his syngular facultie of pleadynge, and rekenynge vp certayne of his tryght noble orations, amonge other thynges what confounded Catiline, he for good cause glorieth. Of me (sayth he) the most hardy and bolde man Catiline was accused in the senate, and he helde his peace. But there be other, that saye other wise: they wryte, that Catiline answered the consul. And there remayneth and is commonly in mennes handes a tryght fayre oration, whiche is written in Catilines name. The whiche oration I do not so moche beleue to be his, as of some great and olde authour of suche feyned orations. The example of whiche oration I haue therfore set in this place, that when I had shewed myne and other mens myndes, I myght leaue it to be iudged of other hereafter. Than Catiline (as I saye) although he were terribly feared with the consuls oration, yet bycause he was prompte in speche, and redy to dyssemble all thynges, toke courage, and in this wise answered to the consuls oration.

¶ Catilines answere to Cicero in the Senate. Cap. viij.

IT BESEMETH al men, which be in most hyghe office and authoritie, or that consult of matters publike or priuate, principally to take hede, that they rashely incline not to any affections, nor that they cast down vnder foote with fury or anger, the witte, that shulde be at libertie: But with al diligence they must endeuoire themselfes, that theyr myndes remayne vncorrupt, that they egally examyne and try euery mannes reason, and that they leane to no parte, vntyll the matter be clerely opened, and sufficiently debated. For it is a harde thynge, the mynde beinge disquietted, and the witte troubled, to perswade any man to the truthe. Suche is often tymes the strength and power of an oration. If you, most discrete fathers, had had this consideratiō with you, whan our consull with so sharpe bytynge wordes, wrongefully spake of my maners, whē he with his pernitious and insolent eloquence incensed and kendled your myndes ageynste me: I dare boldely saye, myne innocente lyfe shulde this daye cleane haue quayled, his proude crakynge wordes. But nowe I se, that ye by the consulles suggestion, prepare sentence agaynste me, and that ye can scasely suffer to here me: to gyue credence to his auctoritie, mystrustynge myne honesty. Wherfore I maye well feare, lest the defence of myne helth be greatly hindred. For innocentes through the vniuste cuuy or iniury of a fewe, are often tymes troden vnder foote. The whiche thinge surely besemeth neyther the constancy of noble men, nor the maners of the Romayns, nor the dignitie and office of the Senatours, Therfore most honorable

rable fathers, I beseche you for the goddes sakes im-
mortall, and for your humanitie, that in so greate and
waighty matters ye lyghtely gyue not iudgemente: re-
duce agayn your myndes, mollified and ouercome with
Ciceros eloquence, to your olde integrity, and so restore
you them, that at length you maye vnderstand the wor-
des of Catiline a Romayne, descended of noble lynage.
If I, worthy citezens, haue done any offence agaynste
my countrey, I neyther desyre fauour nor mercy. Then
ryd me out of this lyfe, put this bodye to cruell deathe,
and teare these shamefull membres in pieces, for myne
oration tendeth not, that ye shulde haue mercy on Cati-
line. For why? sodenly to put to cruell deathe hym that
entendeth to destroy his countrey, is moste hyghe mer-
cy. But the clemency of this citie, I desyre moste hono-
rable fathers, that in no maner wise ye forsake not inno
cency, leste while ye defende lybertie, throughe the ini-
quitie of a fewe, you shulde go about to destroye many
gyltles persons. I shal shewe you, and clerely open vn-
to you, that the greuouse and sharpe enmitie, that out
consull beareth me, is not for the sauegarde of the com-
mon weale: nor for any desyre that he hath to mayntem
libertie, but to vexe and trouble the common weale. For
howe many and howe inmoderate discordes dyd fyrste
in tymes paste kendle and prouoke him agaynst me, nor
what stryfe and contention hath ben betwene vs sens,
I nede not to declare: For they are to you honorable fa
thers, sufficiently knowen. But I woll rather tell you
those thynges, whiche he, at the laste election, when he
was chosen consull, shamefully, ye and rashely blasted
out, howe he desyred the consulshyp for nothynge more,
than for the destruction of Catiline. These two mooste

noble men C. Antonius, and C. Caesar are witnesses of the same: by whose authoritie, that his threatninge was at the same tyme reproued as vndiscrete. Goo to nowe moste prudent fathers, gyue your hyghe dignities and offices to suche mynded men, the whiche woll more diligently pursue priuate ennemities, than the profyt and sauegarde of al this common weale. Cicero desyred not the consulshyp to succour the myserable, or to restrayne the power and myght of the euell doers, to defende the cite, to prouide for the common weale, but specially that he myght quayle Catiline and banysshe hym. Are these the dewties of a man called to the consulshyp? Preferre suche men, in gyuyng them the hygh roumes, before the noble men, whose hole mynde is to extincte the nobilite. For that that is threatned me of this man, shall returne vnto you all. Beleue me moste prudent fathers, beleue me, the consent of beneuolence and loue is rare betwene myndes so vnlyke. He beinge a straunger of the towne Arpinate, a newe guest planted into this citie, thinketh vpon his naturall rage and hatred, the whiche his maners haue not only prepared ageynst newe and strange citezens, but also nature by old custome. First at the begynnynge of his consulshyp, his countrey was caste in his tethe, and sometyme his newe gentilmanshyp was obiected agaynste hym: thynke ye that the man moost vnpatient, coulde take soo great rebuke pacientely? At that tyme his wytte beinge kendled with a frowarde spirite, and as it were a viperus serpent, his fierce and cruel mynde, with an inflamed and venomed stomacke, was all to tossed. This man that nameth hym selfe the father of the countreye, that is wonte to saye, that this common weale was ornated with his noblenesse in lyuynge,

tynge, he that by his maners maketh hym selfe not on-
ly egall to the kynredes of all the moste noble and excel-
lent men, but also to excel in vertue all our forefathers.
Whan he sawe his newe gentylmanshyppe obiected a-
geinste hym, howe thynke you dyd he take it? He than
gnashed his tethe to gether, and ageynst you al he was
stryken pryuely with a woodnes, and gan to whette his
anger: the whiche ye maye not thynke woll asswage in
tyme to come, by optaynynge of the consulshyp, seinge
that he iudgeth, that not by your fauours, but for his
moste greattest vertues he worthyly is aduaunced to so
hyghe a dignitie. And soo nowe he dothe execute those
his former affections, nowe with those crafftes he inten-
deth to trouble the citie: now with suche inuentions he
woll reuenge hym selfe, and bryngе the nobylitie in su-
che case, that they shall neuer obiecte ageynste hym his
newe gentylmanshyp. he shal do it moste honorable fa-
thers, he shall do it, onelesse your moste prudente wise-
domes at lengthe prouyde bothe for the helthe of vs all
and for the common weale. For nowe our citie by this
synge leader of myschiefe & artificer of damnable dedes
is so be spotted with a vengeable and pestilent blemish,
he so soweth abrode his detestable sede vpon our coun-
trey, that if it ones take rote, and growe to any forward
nesse, this publyke weale shall be cleane extincted, and
this moste florysshynge empire shall be vtterly brought
to naught. For there is nothynge more perylous vnto
cities, than whan the chiefe and pryncipall citezens be
at stryfe amonge them selfe. For Discorde is greattest
foode to florysshynge common weales. Discorde alone dis
parpeleth and turneth vp sette downe, thynges stronge
and myghty. Euely discorde hath brought this busi-

nes into our citie, it hath cast vs into this calamitie: the whiche if it be not prouided for in tyme, I see that this moste florysshynge common weale is in great daunger, I see the weapons in your handes, the one of you to withstande the other, this man banysshed, and that man murdred. Wold to god, that innocent Catiline might be the ende of al tribulations, lyke as he is the beginning: there is no peryll, that shulde greue me to take in hande for the common weale, I coulde be contente to be proscribed, to be banysshed, to suffre deathe for my countrey, But euery man is not at all tymes of oone selfe mynde. An other shall be more impatient, the which had rather be auenged, than to suffre the iniuries of naughty persones. Then the matter muste nedes be tryed by cyuile warre, then shall our countrey stande in daunger to be loste, and shall shortely fall into doubtefull chaunces, and sure destruction of the citie: than shall he greately reioyce and glory, that he hath optayned his purpose: When he shall see this countreye glyster and shyne in bryght armour, and this citie sette on fyre gyue lyghte: Than shall he prayse his inuentions and dryftes, and extoll his inuincible mynde, and thynke he hath sufficientely reuenged hym selfe, and his fore fathers, for the contumelies and rebukes done to hym. For he is wonte somtyme to saye, that he is of the family and kynrede of Tullius Hostilius kynge of the Volscians, speciall ennemy to the people of Rome: the whiche thynge is the onely knowen occasion, why vniuersallye the name of Romayns is hatefull vnto hym, and he shall alwaye abhorre this common weale, by whose dominō, the house and family of his ancestours is dymmed, and their empire cleane subdewed and ouerthrowen, whiche thynge,

howe

howe great cares it carieth into mennes myndes, iudge ye your owne selfes. This I maye onely esteme of Cicero, that as longe as that enuye of his forefathers, and those olde enmities of vnpatient mynde, shall turmoyle and vexe his brayne, he woll neuer cesse frome his violence and madnes. Soo great is his vnmoderate luste and mynde to destroy this empire. And euen nowe truely, the hole worlde beinge in peace, so many kynges, people, and straunge nations subdewed, all men bothe by lande and see obeyinge vnto vs, and nowe that there is no superiour ennemy of the people of Rome, but do approue our great puissance and noble actes. And therfore he hath no hope to bringe this empire to destruction by outward hostilitie. All thynges are in sure quiet vnder vs, all men wyllyngely obey vnto vs. But for as moch as he greatly desyreth to reuenge hym selfe and his auncestours, and that his harde and cruell mynde wyll neuer cesse from that opinion, he fleith to those perturbations, with the which priuate enmities fyrst with me, lastly he intendeth to greue the hole common weale. And so fyrst he accuseth Catiline his ennemie, and many other felowes with hym in his conspiracy, that they intend to inuade the common weale, ouer runne theyr countreye, deface the citie, to burne houses, temples, aultars, to rauisshe virgins, to murther and slee the ancient men, the people, and the nobles, ne neuer shynte frome wrath, ne spare the sworde, vntyll they haue vtterly destroyed this moste beautifull citie, the souerayne princesse ouer all the worlde. But I swere by the immortall goddes, I wot not to what ende this vayne estimation of men wol come, that any mortall man shoulde beleue, that there were any so vtterly an hopeloste, or so ignorant of reason,

son, that dothe not perceyue a certayne Zele and tender loue towarde his countrey planted in hym, the whiche alwaye throughe a certayne secrete and vehemente power of Nature, is powred into mennes breastes. Than what Romayne mynde wolde desyre to bynge the common weale to so great calamite? For what moste cruell ennemie of the Romaynes, yea the very Cappytayne of Carthage Annibal, coulde inuent and imagine greatter, or the lyke hurtes to vs? Wolde I inuade the common weale, which haue for the common weale entreprised and susteyned so excedynge great peryls? Shuld I be so bolde, to deface the Senate and citie, whiche haue adorned my lynage with so many most large benefites? Shuld I burne the temples of Rome, the which shewe forthe so many grauen images and tables of myne ancestours? Shulde I murder the noble men of bloude or Senatours, that am nowe in honour and dygnitie amonge them? Shuld I wearing the honorable robe defile ỹ cite with other mischiuous dedes, the which with all diligence haue withstande, that other shulde not defyle it? what hope? what mynde? what occasion shulde dryue me to do suche a dede? Shulde the luste and desyre of dominion and rule, wherof a lyttel whyle ere Cicero reasoned? haue not I quietly opteyned the dignitie aboue all? haue not I as good hope le fte me to exercise other dignities, as is lawfull for any mortal man to require? for I am both of the bloud of noble Senatours, and haue opteined the dignite of a Senatour, and here after, I maye be consul or dictatour. The whiche dignities are suche and so great, that not onely in this moste noble citie, but also they far excel the empiers and principalities of all people, of all nations, that are in al the

worlde.

worlde. What nedeth it than, to seke that thyng in hard warre, whiche willyngely in peace is prepared for me? But peraduenture as Cicero sayde, enuye styred me, great dette, pouertie, immodetate boldenesse to beare a rule. But this shulde be estemed of a man that is wylful rashe and brayneficke, or of any other, the whiche in hope to wynne and gette goodes, maye vnwysely make soo great a sedition among the people of Rome: and not of a man of the noblest bloude borne, and in a citie aboundynge in welthe. For shuld he that is honestly furnyshed with ryches, doubte that he shulde at any tyme wante? For so moche lucre and wynnyng doth euen offer it selfe, and suche profyte cometh of the common treasure: that if a man shulde a lyttell decaye, and in no wise obey vnto honestie, it is incredible, howe easelye he maye be laded with abundaunce of ryches. And to let passe other thynges, thou Cicero, arte an example vnto me, whiche in a maner the other daye entredst into this citie, bare & nedy of al thynges, after thou gottest the ones in office, thou gatheredst sodeynly together so gret a heape of riches, that all the towens belongynge to Rome as it semed, were scasely sufficient for thy factours. Wherfore thou doste but folyshely, to laye couetousnes, pouertie, and great dette vnto my charge. All whiche thynges I coude by a more sure waye appease, then to disturbe the common weale, to take the vncertayne for certayne, for a lyttell commoditie to enterprise excedynge greate perils. Neyther I (as touchynge suche thynges as I am accused of) wolde for any priuate debate haue goone in hande with so horrible a dede. There is no man in this common weale, that I reken to be myne ennemy, onely Cicero is agreued with me, bycause I coulde not cloke

his vices, whiche he dyd secretely: whose folysshe and tryflyng toyes if I wolde haue eschewed and put from me, I had many wayes to reuenge my selfe, withoute publike peryll. For I neded no refuge to the hurt of the common weale, seinge there was neyther drede nor ieoperdy to withstande or lette me, for if he were rydde out of this lyfe, there shulde remayne no man that wold not onely reuenge hym, but also mourne at his funerall. But god forbydde, that I shulde dishonest my selfe for his folehardynes. For it is noo laude for noble men, to be reuenged on abiecte persons, yet perchance if I wold haue desyred it, it shuld not be imputed worthy citesens, but that I (if I had gone about it at that tyme) myght haue had moche more opportunitie, than he shulde haue had. Surely if I fortified myne house with strength of men of armes, brought in my companyons, and made good watche, for I woll not deny any of these thynges, I dyd it most prudent fathers not to do any man wrong but to resiste the violence of the consull. I dradde his wytte, I knowe his eloquence, I was not ignorante of his malyce, I vnderstode he had instructed this conspyracy. And so I was in feare, leste that by his eloquence ye shuld sodeynly disdayne me in your myndes, and that ye (the dangers ones declared) cleane ageynste my question, wolde greuously punysshe me. For if I had ben ones delyuered in to his handes, in vayne afterwarde shoulde I haue founde place for my defence. And so I haue with greatte labour prolonged my lyfe vnto this day. And in all this great trouble, by meanes of thy perswasion, I haue scasely escaped, that I was not of all men condemned as gylty. But nowe Cicero, whan thou hadst lesse nede, other wise thā thou hopedst, I am come

into

into the Senate: and as moche as semed to me sufficyent, I haue opened a fewe of thy least fautes: the whiche by that tyme they be knowen, thou woldeste rather they shuld be forgotten, than that so great crymes shuld come to lyghte and be knowen. I was nothynge aferde of thy myscheuous dedes, nor thine oration at that time, nor thy motions conjected willyngly ageynst me, made me not afrayde. For what feare in so great assemblye of Senatours, in so greate a companye of noble citesens, coude trouble any innocent mynd? Therfore I haue the daye, whiche I moste specially desyred, whiche assuredly thou dydst least loke for. I haue a Senate, which can vnderstande myne innocency, before whom thy damnable offences shall be opened. I haue therfore with good peryll prouided ageynste my peryls, if at any tyme with strength of men of armes I defended thy fury, if at any season without drede I stode styffe in the cōmon weale, whyle by all meanes thou dydst perswade me to flee, I contrary wyse mynded to tary. But o good lorde where be we? who seeth not a myghty false accusation? what other thynge dyd al thy oration meane, but that I shuld flee? But if (as thou sayste) all my dedes be well knowen, if myne imaginatiōs be more clerer than the light: why doste thou nowe perswade me to flee? Here I am, hauynge no power or defence of myne owne about me. The Senate is present, whiche wyll prohibite and let the from harme. Shewe forth these mischeuous dedes: open playnely the Sedition, do punishement. For it besemeth the not to be mercifull in so great peryls. Delay, and to be without helpe, may be hurtful: If thou haue the principall of the conspiracye, if the capitayne of the ennemies be in thy handes, why doste thou tary? why

doste thou couet to caste hym out? For it is more profytable, that the army wante a capitayne: for so they shall be the more slacke to make warre. But I see (as it is wonte to chance) in the myddes of yuels, thou forfeare of punishement, begynnest to ware colde, for thou seest the myschaunce, that thou preparest eyther for me, or for the common weale, shall lyghte vppon thy selfe. This thynge nowe, to thy great daunger, is farre other wyse handled than thou thoughtest. Doubtest not nowe, that I woll obiecte ageynste the thy goodes? Dyddest thou thynke, that I wolde come into the Senate? Therfore when I came, thou forthwith were sore aferde. Thynkest thou nowe to make me afrayde with thy threatynges? knowest thou not howe free, and howe bolde the stomake of an innocent is? Wylte thou Cicero, that I flee? Surely I wyll not flee, but abyde and ouercome thy proude bragges. I must nedes reproue thy myscheuous dedes and inuentions. Let thy wytnesses come in to this place, of whom thou saist thou hast so great plentie, that nothynge of my dedes can be couered or hydde from the. Whom bryngest thou forthe? M. Curius? surely a man of a good opinion, and of an honest lyfe: or suche one as hath nobly with his leud and naughty dedes dyshonested this order, and therfore was abiected. Or wylte thou bryng forth Fuluia his mate in bodely lust, whiche was neuer priuie to noo murder, nor is not the nurce chylde of aduoutry and fornication, nor of none other vnlaufull copulation: or elles she hath soo lyued, that as an example of abhominable vice, she her selfe alone canne excell all the craftes and deceptes of hoores? These are the moste noble men, that suspect the trouble and vnquietnes of the citie, and that are brought in as

witnesses

witnesses ageynste me. But I swere by the goddes immortall, that nowe thou Cicero, dost shewe by thy maners, that thou doste very shamfully abuse thy furye. For if thy mynde was, to rydde me out of the way, thou shuldest not haue sought witnesse of them, that are open conspiratours. Thou oughteste to haue chosen theym, whose lyfe is moze vnknowen, and theyr robberyes a lyttell moze secrete. Many men for that money, wolde moze profytably haue plyed to thyne ambition. For no good citesen ought to be afrayde of theyr yll and malicious wordes. They maye easely be reproued, seing that theyr fortune, theyr fydelitie and dedes are suffyciente, whiche if they wolde fauour me, I wolde rather they shuld be myne iniurious aduersaries, lest theyr familiaritie shulde brynge my lyfe lykewise in a contempt. And so nowe moste honorable fathers, al the dedes and imaginations of the consull I haue opened playnely vnto you: nowe also myne innocency may appere vnto you. Ye se, what thynge caused that he wolde destroye Catiline, and dysturbe the common weale. He is styrred and stryueth with me for priuate enmities. For castynge in the tethe of his newe gentylmanshyp, he hateth all the nobilitie, after the maner of his forefathers. For he abhorreth this countrey, and therfore he gothe aboute to make sedition, to sowe discorde, his vnpatient stomake wyll neuer be in quiete, tyll he bryng vs to destruction. Fyrste he accuseth me, beinge borne of the noble bloude of Rome, and a Senatour, to be a murderer: where as the noble actes and dedes, hygh dominions, offices and dignyties, and great and large benefites doone to this common weale by myne auncestours, do mooste honorably glyster and shyne. He obiecteth nedynes ageynste

me, the whiche in this moste plentifull citie coulde neuer be an hynderaunce to theym that are in lowe and meane offices. He obiecteth emptyes ageynste me, the which seme vnto me, not to be sufficient, to disturbe the common weale. Ye se, what witnesses he bryngeth forth: the whiche are suche, that they excede the wyttes of all myscheuous captyues. whiche attemptates, after he sawe came not to passe, as he hoped they wold, nor hath no great truste in the senate, he is forthewith ouerthrowen with feare. He commaundeth me to flee, whan, if I had ben fauty, to reuenge soo heynous an offence, the greatest punishement that is, coulde not be sufficiente. Than if you moste honorable fathers see mine innocency, if ye perceyue his fierse cruell mynde, if ye ponder the perils of the common weale, than at the laste loke vp, take pitie, and saue from ruine the empire of Rome. Ye haue euen amonge you a slypper serpent, ye haue in this order included, the calamitie of the common weale, whiche is ryght watchefull, to bryng to confusion the peple of Rome. You haue aduanced hym to moste highe honour. Beware, leste at length that part of pestilence, by to moche libertie, infecte all the body, and as a contagious disease growe vp amonge you. Go to quikely, auoyde this stynkynge pompe of vengeaunce and myschiefe, depose this man from his consulshyp, leste that his foule shamefull dedes, defyle this moste hyghe and honorable dignitie: caste hym out of this comon weale, leste that here after he shulde be sene within the walles of this our moste noble citie, by hym brought to great ruyne and decaye. If the monumentes of this citie be derely beloued vnto you, if the syghte of your chyldren be pleasaunt vnto you, if it delyte you to haue chast virgins,

gins, if the temples, if the power, prieſtehode, compa-
ny, houſes, ryches, ſeruauntes, clyents, all goodes of
Fortune, and the commodities of all our countreye, be
acceptable vnto you: Nowe, nowe rote out of this com
mon weale this ſede of all euyls, rydde hym oute of the
citeſens ſyghte, the whiche thynketh vtterly to deſtroye
you and all your goodes, whiche hath determined with
priuy hatred and diſcorde, to dyſturbe the honorable e-
ſtate of the Romayne empire. Succour and help in this
peryll. Reſyſte this calamitie: then all ſuſpition ſhall
ceaſe, then this gyle ſhall incontinently be remoued frō
the bandes of men of warre. In this one man reſteth al
theyr hope. For who coulde haue moued or ſtyred vp
the myndes of a fewe vngratious perſons againſt this
moſte greatteſt empire, the chiefe and ſoueraygne of all
the worlde, but he? what citeſen in this common weale
coulde haue imagined ſo cruell a myſchiefe? This, this
newe gentylman Cicero of Arpinas, of the kynred of
Tullians, priuely ſtrueth ſnares for our diſtruction. He
accuſeth Catiline of conſpiracy wherby he mighte haue
the better opportunitie for his purpoſe. He bryngeth ma-
ny of vs to examination, that he, by gatherynge to ge-
ther of ſtrength of men by the meane of vs, myght ther-
by the eaſyer inuade the common weale. O mooſte pru-
dente fathers, do you not ſe your owne peryls? Hold vp
the myſerable common weale, ſtaggerynge and redy to
fall: helpe your countrey: ſe mercifully to the ſafegard
of your parentes, and of vs all, and ryd me a noble man
borne, and the people of Rome out of the cruell handes
of the malitiouſe conſul, And reſtore me, humbly beſe-
chynge and inſtantynge you, to my former nobilitie, fa-
uour and beniuolence of all the citeſens.

Catiline

¶ Catiline in great wrothe, departeth out of the courte, exorteth his companions to sticke to their enterprise, he doydeth the citie, and prepareth warre. Cap. xv.

VNETH Catiline had ended his wordes, but that many senatours began to murmur, and to cal him manqueller and enemy. Than Catiline full of fury, said: For as moche as I am beset about with ennemies, and am ouerthrowen hedling I wyll not quenche the burnynge of myne anger with water, but with your ruyne. After that, all pale and chafed, he sodenly rushed out of the courte, and gatte hym home, with many great and cruell manasynges, there myndynge many thynges, he determyned to take his iourney to Manlius army: fearynge, if he shulde tary any longer, lest the people stomaked agaynst hym with the consuls oration, shulde runne vpon him. Therfore assemblynge to gether Lentulus, Cethegus, and other the chiefe of the conspiracy, he shewed to them his counsell, exhortyng them to be alway redy, and of good courage, and not to be a frayde for any labour and peryll, and that they shulde diligently execute the thinges, that they had apoynted the other nyght: and that they shuld allure as many as they could to ioine with them in that warre. In the meane whyle he warned them, that they shulde spreade a rumour about the citie, that he an innocent was banyshed to Massilia: that by reason therof Cicero might runne in hatred, and that therby he might vnwares inuade the citie. When he had sayde these, and other lyke thynges, about mydnight with a fewe, or (as some other say) with. iii. C. men of armes, he departed out of the citie: nor he went not by the waye called Flaminia,

minia (as some falsely wryte) but by the ways Aurelia: The morowe after that Catiline was fled out of ỹ citie, M. Cicero made an oration to the people: which because it is written among Ciceros orations, I ouerpasse here what then was sayde of the consull to them.

¶ Catiline sente diuers letters into the citie agaynst Cicero, in whiche he feyned hym selfe to be exyled. Cap. xxi.

BVT CATILINE as he was in his iourney, wrote letters to many that had ben consuls, and sent them to all such as were chiefe and principall: to whom he sayde, that he was circumuented with false accusations, and separate frome the Senate: and bycause he coulde not resiste the consull, he gaue place for the tyme, and as a banyshed man, went vnto Massilia, not that he knewe hym selfe coulpable in any offence, but to the ende the common weale shulde be in quiete, and that the consull, couetynge to destroy the nobilitie, shulde not by feynyng of Catilines conspiracye, bringe to destruction, many good and innocent men: And that he wolde rather forsake his countrey, than that for his sake any dissention of ciuile warre shulde aryse. This thynge caused Cicero to be greatly hated. for there were many, that sayd, that Catiline was not astonied and afrayde for the consuls diligence, nor put from his hope or enterpryse, but by the consuls violence and thretynges, he vncondemned and an innocent was banyshed, nor they dispraued not hym, but sayde, that Cicero was to timerous, and a consull not diligent, but a tyranne moste cruell. But whan Catiline, with the ornamentes of a consull, and lyke a souerayn Capitayne was come into the countrey

of Fesuls, and had receyued the armye of Manlius, he determyned not to make warre, before he had augmented the armye, and tyll he had a fewe dayes exercised and accustomed his souldiours, after the discipline of the ancient Romaynes, to endure labour and warfare. Then Catiline watchynge, laborynge, settynge his men in array, callynge his souldiours by name, monishynge, exhortynge, dayly more and more he reduced and brought them again to the knowelege and discipline of warfare. While Catiline in Martiall feates instructed his armye, Q. Catulus, a man in moste hygbe estimation and autoritie, whiche sometyme was Catilines familiar frend, redde the letters in the Senate, whiche he sayde, Catiline sente to hym. The tenour of whiche letters hereafter followeth.

L. Catiline to Q. Catulus gretynge. Thy great fydelitie, approued in deede, to me in perylli ryghte moche beneficiall, gyueth a fyue trusteth my commendation. Wherefore I purpose not in newe counsel to prepare defence, nor for any conscience of offence to make satisfaction: the which notwithstandynge in very deede ye shal knowe to be true. Yesterdaye as moche as I prouoked with rebukes and iniuries, and depryued of the fruite of my labour and diligence, deprehended vnto the state of dignitie, as my custome is, rose vpon them to defende the cause of suche as are miserable, not that I want or haue not sufficient possessions to paye myne owne debtes, seing that the liberalitie of my wyfe Hortulla, with her owne, and her doughters goodes, hath paied other mennes debtes, but bycause I was vexed without ryght, and vnpaied to honour and my selfe, throughe false suspition, alienated and put from honour. And for this cause I haue, for the

ease that I am in, gotten meiely good hope, to conserue suche dignitie, as hereafter shall chance me. As I wold haue wrytten mo thynges, it was shewed me, violence was prepared agaynste me. Nowe I commende and delyuer Hostilia to your fydelytie, prayinge you for the loue that ye beare to your chyldren, defende her from iniuries. Face well.

¶ Adary in the citie blamed the softenes of Cicero, that he suffred their enemy to go his waye. Cap. xxii.

BVT when it was knowen at Rome, by many mennes letters, and often messages, that Catiline was admytted capytayne ouer the army, and that he intended to make warre vpon his countreye: there were very many that greately blamed the consull, because he had not taken soo greuous an enemy to the comon weale, and that he had let scape the principall hed theefe of the conspiracye. For at that tyme, the people reasoned and commoned among themselues, on this maner: Catiline long er this tyme, ought to haue ben put to deathe by the consulles commaundement, and with moste cruell and sharpe tourmentes to haue be punished. This mischief, which he hath craftly imagined agaynste vs, ought to haue ben layde vppon his owne necke. For if the consull had put hym to deth, (as he hath deserued) we had ben nowe without warre, the fieldes of Hetruria had not ben fylled with the tentes of our enemies, the common welthe had bene nowe in quiete and rest. It was no meruayle that tyme, to haue vsed mercy, it had ben a very mercifull dede, moste sharpe ly to haue punished our enemye, and by the deathe of

one wicked persoune, to haue preserued the whole com-
mon wealthe. Some other bringe the aunciente exam-
ples shewed, howe that Sp. Elius desyrynge to reygn
alone, was slayne of P. Seruilius Hala, And lyke wise
Tiberius Gracchus, of P. Scipio, and also howe that
C. Marius, slewe L. Saturnius protectour of the com
monaltie, and C. Seruilius Glaucia the mayre, for cer-
taine suspitions of sedition: But Cicero, hath comman-
ded him (whom he knewe to be an enemy most greuous,
whom also he perceiued to be loked for of their enemies,
to be their capitayne and gouernour) to go vnto his ar-
mye, and so to make warre agaynste his countrey.

¶ O the myserable estate of them that gouerned suche
cōmon welthes, in the which he that is diligent, is called
waywarde and harde to please: He that is negligent, dis
honest: where he that is constante and iuste, is called
cruell and vngentyll: and he that is mercifull, fearefull
and dissolute: wherin is gyuen no pardon to them that
do amysse, and small prayse to them that do well. Or e-
uer it was spoken that L. Catiline was gone in exile, it
was sayde, that he was not by Cicero spoyled of his ar-
mours of boldnes, that he was not circumuented and
weakened by the diligent labour and councel of Cicero:
and that he had altered his intente, not bycause that he
dyd greatly feare: but that he vncondemned and an in-
nocent was exiled only by the wordes and power of the
consull. He was not than called vnhappy, but fearefull:
Contrary wyse, the consull not diligent, but cruel. But
seinge there were men, that spake these thynges, what
wolde they haue sayde, if Catiline had ben put to death?
Nowe for as mocke as Catiline lyueth, and is punyt-
shed, they call Cicero a man of no greate councell, but

ignozante, fearefull, and dissolute. Certes there is nothynge moze ignozant and vnwyse, than the vulgar peple, whiche without any difference oz wysedome iugeth, and onely pondereth the chaunce of the thynge, and to whom any thynge well happeneth, hym they saye to be very prouident and circumspecte, and to whome otherwyse, he to perceyue and knowe nothynge. But let vs omytte those thynges.

¶ Catiline and Manlius be proclaymed ennemies, vnto whom fled very many hopelesse. Cap. xxiii.

BVT VVHEN it was surely knowen at Rome, that Catiline was admytted capitayne ouer the armye, and intended to make warre vpon his countreye, there was an acte of parlyament made, in the which Catiline and Manlius were iudged to be vtter ennmyes to the comyon welth. And to all other there was a daye appoynted (sauynge to those that were alredy condemned) that it shulde be laufull for them to departe from the army vnpunished. And if any man after that tyme shulde go vnto Catiline, the senate to take hym as a traytour agaynste the common weale,, and agaynste all mennes safegarde and profyte. The senate also decreed, that the consuls shulde muster, and that C. Antonius with such ayde as he myght gather, shulde pursue Catiline bothe by lande and sea, and Cicero to defende the citie from al deceytes and myschaunces. Neuertheleste the myndes of desperate persons were nothynge refrayned by these sharpe decrees. For there was none out of soo great a company of conspiratours, that departed from Catiline excepte it were eyther to spye, oz to doo some myschiefe: but contrary wyse there were many, that drewe to hym.

bothe out of the countrey, and out of the cittie. But of al those that drewe to hym, he refused bonde seruantes, of whō an innumerable multitude fled to hym, he estemed it a thynge vnsemely, that runnagates shuld haue to do in citesens matters: and thynkynge this also, which in dede shulde haue come to passe, (if his companyons at Rome had perfurmed theyr enterprise) that huge routes of snaphances and hopelostes, from all partes of Italy wolde resorte to hym. For not onely they, that were confederate in the conspiracie, coueted that Catiline shulde victoriously ouercome, but also who so euer were greatly indetted, who soo euer had solde awaye theyr landes, who so euer were in tyme past condemned or attaynted: Many also by troublynge of the common weale, loked to be aduaunced to honours and moste hyghe roumes, many desyred warre by reason that of suche ruffeling & dissentyons, they optayned power. Farthermore in a great cittie are alwayes many, naughty pyldgers, hopelostes, malaperte, troublous, seditious, and nedye fellowes, which with a becke are redy to disturbe the quiet and rest of a cittie. But most specially the delycate youth, and lyttell bearded ponge men, of Catilines flocke with out beardes, whiche smellynge all of muske, theyr heares featly comed, wearynge beyles and not gownes, allowed Catilines counsayles. And of these many gotte them to Catilines army. And of that numbre was oone Fuluius, the sonne of Aulus a Senatour, the which if he coulde haue eschewed Catilines company and amytie, he had nothynge gone out of kynde from his forefathers. He was excellently lerned in greke and latine, he had a holy quicke witte, he was a goodly ponge manne and a towarde. But he with Catilines company and a-

mitie made bnlyke to hym selfe, in a folysshe brayde, fled vnto Catilines campe: whom his harde father, returnynge hym backe agayne frome his iourney, whanne he hadde with spytefull rebukes rated, he afterwarde commaunded hym to be slayne. Also there was an opinion, that P. Clodius, the sonne of Appius, departed out of the citie, to thentent to go to Catiline. After that chaungynge his purpose, he returned agayn to the citie, and so Cicero obiecteth agaynste hym in many places, that he was companion of the conspiracye, the whiche tryme although it were obiected of an enemy, yet I beleue it to be true, for the lyfe and maners of Clodius approue, that he boldely enterprised al thynges. Also there were some that sayde, that C. Antonius the consul was one that conspired with Catiline, whose opynion was approued by this one argumente, that Antonius neuer endeuoured hym selfe, to auoyde that suspition of familiarytie with Catiline, which men than had of hym, neither by denyenge, nor yet by dissimulation. Nor this furious infection, dyd not onely inuade the citie, but in a maner all Italy, and was nowe spred priuely throughe many prouynces. And excepte the conspiracye had bene discouered in the citte, surely Catiline in shorte tyme had gathered an infinite armye, and the commotions, in all places had ben exceadynge great. In Appulia, in Bruttis, in Delignis, in Capua, in the countrey of Pyse, and specially amonge the Pisaurians, and Cameritians, in Tuschayne, in Fraunce, the hither and further, the bandes of men of armes romed abrode some priuely, and some openly.

Ambassa-

Ambassiatoze are sent from the senate, into dyuerse pzouynces of Italy, to withstande the rebellion. Cap. xxiiii.

BVT THE huge motion of this cursed consptracie reysed vp by Marcellus the father and the sonne, disclosed by L. Vectius, was appeysed and brought down by Bibulus in Pelignis, and by Cicero in Brutiis, and by them they were both punished. But in the further Fraunce, C. Murena the legat, brother vnto Murena that was appoynted to be consul: In the countreye of Pyse, and the one parte of Fraunce, the noble mayze Q. Metellus, dyd withstand and let the mysscheuous fury and ententes of the conspiratours. And many of these dyd Metellus cast in pzysō. Albeit (throughe the faulte of the wryters as I suppose) it is falsely red in Salust, that this C. Murena shulde be the ruler of the hyther Fraunce. For Cicero doth aksyme, that he was at that tyme in the further Fraunce, with all his power. And by the same auctour we haue shewed before, that Q. Metellus Celer, was sente from the senate into the countrey of Pise and a part of Fráce. Furthermoze Cicero the consul commanded, that all the inhabitantes and dwellers there about, shulde strongely fortify theyr townes with garrisons of men of armes, and to defende theyr borders and cities from the inuasion of Catiline. Also he sente P. Sestius the treasourer with an army to Capua, bycause he harde say, that the rebels went about to take it. Than whan he was come to Capua, he banysshed frome thense C. Meulanus, a man gyuen to ryot, and C. Marcellus endeuorynge him selfe to wynne the citie by force, and to reyse vp a seruile warre,

warre, and intendynge to do many other leude dedes, and delyuered that citie frome moofte greuouſe peryll. Wherfore the chiefe rulers of Capua, for that the welth of theyr citie was preſerued, they in honour of M. Tullius, ſette vp a golden ymage, and called hym theyr patron, and to P. Seſtius they openly gaue great thākes.

¶ The preparation of the rebelles in the citie, and theyr counſelles with the ambaſſators of Dolphinois. Cap. xxv.

AT THE ſame ſeaſon the cappytaines left by Catyline in the citye, entyſed vnto warre the citezins, the ſtraungers, the noble men, the meane, and men of lowe degree, of what ſorte ſo euer they were, whiche they ſawe, deſyrous of newe alterations, that were mete for the warre: further they prepared mallettes to ſet fyre on the city, and ſent ſecretly vnto Catilyne bothe armour and mony.

¶ There were than at Rome ambaſſatours of Fraūce, ſent from a citie ſomwhat in trouble, deſiring of the Senat to deliuer theyr towne which was greatly indetted. wherfore Lētulus ſuppoſed lightly to allure thoſe men, to aide them in their warres, for as moch as the frenchemen are of nature inclyned to warre, and alway intentiue to new buſineſſe, and hated the preſent eſtate of the people of Rome. In this confederacy were many commodities. Fyrſte, Fraunce had great plenty of horſemen, of whome the conſpiratours ſawe them ſelfes to haue great nede. Seconde, bycauſe the people of Dolphyny were nert adioynynge to Italy, and by the reaſon that Fraūce ſhuld be in an vprore and ruffeling, they thought no man coude reſyſt the Conſpiracy. And ſo bycauſe P. Umbrenus was acqueinted with the frenchemen, they

gaue hym charge, that he shulde require the sayde ambassadours, to take theyr partes, and shewed hym by what reason it myght be done. Umbrenus sent for the Ambassadourss, diligently accomplished the matter.

¶ Ciceros watcheful diligence, and his monicions to the frenche ambassadours, which vttered the secretes of the Conspiracy. Li. 26.

BVT M. CICERO being alway watcheful and prouident, to se, and perceyue, what the conspiratours went aboute and intended, vsed the helpe and counsayle of L. Torquatus, P. Lentulus Spinter, Q. Catulus, M. Lucullus, P. Seruilius, M. Cato, Q. Sanga, and of many other most noble and worthy men. They highly fauouring the common weale, inquered and serched out al thing, and what so euer came to theyr knowlege, they forthwith made relation therof to the Consul. Than as Fortune wolde, the ambassadours communed of these matters with: Q. Fabius Sanga, a wyght noble man, which was the frenchmens patrone. He beinge of councell with Cicero in al thinges, spedily shewed the matter to the Consull. Than the Consull, thynkyng that he had nowe good occasion, openly to conuince the conspiratours, which thing he alway desyred, commaunded the ambassadours to come secretly vnto hym: and admonished them, that they shuld not be ennempes to the people of Rome without a cause: Nor that they shuld toyne theyr welthe state, with the wretched condicion of Catiline, Lentulus, and other miserable persons: nor that it behoued them to enterprise thynges vncertayne for certayne, or for a small commoditie to aduenture vpon exceding great perilles. All warre

warre is easily begunne, but it is not in his power to make an ende, that begamne it. He sayd, Catilyne by my counsayles, by my great laboure and trauaile, and with my strēgth of men of armes is so be set about on al sides sebeled, ẏ my felowe Antonius with an army may easily subdue hym. Within the city al thinges are aboundātly foꝛ seen and pꝛouided foꝛ, that no man can ones sturre ageinst the common weale. And that if it were knowē, that they had done, begūne, oꝛ intended to do any thing ageynst the common weale, the Senat and people of Rome woll as they are accustomed, moste sharpely reuenge it: therfoꝛe he aduised them to take good hede to them selfes and theyꝛ citie. But in case they wolde be ruled and do as he wold aduise them, they shuld stande in possibylitie to obteine of the people of Rome all thinges what soo euer they wolde require. The ambassadours full gētilly answered to those thynges and said: It is true, they were required by Lētulus, to be felowes with them in warre, but they were not in so miserable state, noꝛ of soo willfull a mynde, that they wolde sodainly spille and cast awey the amity that they had with the people of Rome, opteyned with so great laboure and busines, and that their desyꝛe was to accomplyshe all thinges what soo euer he wolde commaunde them. Than the consul gaue them in charge, that they shulde make as though they vehemētly fauoured the Conspyracy, and laboure to gette letters of their hande wrytyng, and sealed with eche of the conspiratours seales: and diligently to serche out, all theyꝛ intentes and purposes. The ambassadours pꝛomysyng to do theyꝛ endeuoyꝛe, slepte not the matter, by Gabinus (foꝛ to hym Umbꝛenus fyꝛst bꝛought the frenche men) they spake

with Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius: and required of them an othe, theyr lettres and seales, to the entente they might bryng home to theyr nation some sure knowlege of the matter. For other wyse, they sayde theyr citizins coulde not be perswaded to take in hande so greate an enterpryse. Than they suspectynge nothyng, sent vnto the rulars and people of Dolphinois, an othe & their letters. (Surely there is nothing more perellus, than to putte in writynge that thinge, that a man wolde haue kepte secrete.) Farther, they gaue them in commaundement, that they as shortely as coulde be, shulde come into Italye, with a stronge bende of horsemenne, for they sayde they had soudyours inough. But Cassius, that he myght the more esyly stere the barbarous men to warre, knowing that outward nations are moche moued with nobilitie, named certayne of the nobles, and sayde, they had agreed and were consented with them.

## ¶ The vayne bragging of Lentulus, and cruell counsel of the conspiratours in the citie. Cap. 27.

ALSO LENTVLVS, to encorage ỹ frenchemen, sayd, that by the bokes of Sibilla, and the diuinours answers, the kyngdom of the Romayns shulde be gyuen to thre Cornelians: Cinna and Sylla haue had alredy the regal power, and he hym selfe was the third Cornelius, to whome the hygh imperial power shulde fall. he sayd also, that the same was the predestinate yere, in whiche the common weale shulde perysshe and fynally decaye. For it was. xx. yere sithe the Capitall was burned, and the tenth yere sens the virgins Vestales absolutiõ. The

whiche

whiche yere (as the diuinours haue often times gyuen answere) shuld be to the people of Rome vnlucky and vnfortunate. After all this the conspiratours descriued vnto the frenchemen, the maner and fascion of all the hole warre. But those thynges which they appoynted to be done at Rome, was afterward found to be diuised and distributed amonge the conspyzatours: that whan L. Sergius Catiline shulde come with an armye in to the feeld Fesulan, L. Bestia pzotectour of the commonaltie, shulde make an ozation, to bzynge Cicero in hatred, bycause that by his pzouocation Catilyne had reysed vp a ciuil warre. And by that token, the nexte night folowyng, L. Cassyus, and P. Statilius shuld set fyze on. xii. partes of the citie. Which was done foz this consideration, that by that vpzoze and ruffeling, they might moze easily murder the citesins. Not withstanding there is a certayne authoz that sayth, that they had chosen out an hundzed men, which shuld set fyze on an hundzed places of the cytye: and certayne were appoynted to defende and stoppe the wayes to the cundites, and to slee al such as endeuozed them selfes to quenche the fyze. Also they chose out a certayne, whiche shulde besyege Pompeys house, and take his chuldzen alyue, and kepe them as it were in hostage, therby to wynne and reteyne the frendschyp of Gn. Pompeius, whiche at that season led a myghty great hoste in Asia: and it was nowe repozted foz a surety, that he had accomplished many very great warres, and wold shoztly returne into Italye. Farther, it was appoynted, that C. Cethegus shulde assayle Ciceros house with the swozd and fyze, and had the charge to slee him: and he being slayne, he had other two, that had ben Consuls, and .iiii. that had ben pzetozs, to slee.

The other citesins shulde be mourdzed by the bande of pongemen, led by Gabynius. And among them also was symitted, who shuld take and defende the Capitol, who the market place, who the poztes, and who the gates of the citie. Mozeouer they ozdeyned (it that is wõt to chaunce in the conquest of a citye of ennemies) to spoyle the citie, to burne the temples, to rauyshe the honest wyues, noble mens childzen, virgins, and nunnes, and fyll all places with lamentation, deed bodies, and bloudde. And whan the city were all set on fyze, robbery, and slaughter, Catuline shulde be redy with his army to take such as wolde flee, and ioyne hym selfe with these capitaynes that were in the citie. Here I marueyle, seinge Cicero sayeth, these thinges were thus appointed, wherfoze Salust shuld declare them to be othe wyse diuised amonge the conspiratours. Foz he writeth, that Gabinius toke vppon hym the busynes of burnyng, and that Cassius shulde go into Fraunce: whan contraye wyse Gabinius was appoynted capitayne of the slaughter, and Cassyus of burnyng. But yet in this thing, I suppose moze credẽce shuld be giuen to Cicero, which disclosed the Conspiracy, than to Salust But I woll returne ageyne to theyz communication.

¶ The night appoynted to cruelte, the fury and wrathe of Lethegus, the deceyte of Lentulus. Cap. 28.

THAN SAYD the frẽchemen: All these thinges Lentulus ar ryght well and politykely appoynted, but whan shall that wysshed nyght be? whan shall oure Bestia make that desired oration? It shal be but a shozte tyme (sayd Lentulus) these thynges must be done at the feast

feaste of Saturne. Then sayde Cethegus: what speke ye Lentulus of the feast of Saturne? what short tyme meane ye? Ye shuld not tary one houre. Very great perturbations are often tymes done in a littell moment. For seing spede is nedful in euery busines, then specially in warre, namely among citesins. For slowynge and delay may surely do great hurte, but no profite. Wherfore take hede Lentulus, lest this thy shorte and lyttyll tyme be ouer moch, ye and more than ouer long. Then whan all the other answered, it behoued those thinges to be done at the feaste of Saturnus, Cethegus was so inflamed, and soo wrothefully ranne here and there, that without any doubt he semed to war rauynge mad: he smote hym selfe on the forheed, he coude reste in noo place, oftentymes he layde hande on his sworde: why do I tary sayd he? his countenance was full of fury, his wordes arrogant and proude, he fomed at the mouthe, his eies glowed, his crueltie appered in his loke. Than sayde Cassius: why dost thou Cethegus trouble oure ioyes? why dost thou (sayde he) delay oure ioyes? And he sware an othe, that if a fewe wolde folow him, the other makyng delay, he hym selfe wolde assaute the palayce. After these wordes, they kepte a lyttell while silence. Than spake Lentulus to the frenchemen on this wyse: what thynke you our Cethegus wolle do that nyght, whan euen now he thynketh to come to hande strokes? Thinke you that the consull, thoughe he haue an army about hym, can withstand this moste valiant man? Ye say trouth, quod they: for we neuer sawe a bolder man. After this Lentulus sayde, it pleased hym, that the Frenchemen, in the same iourney before there went whome in to theyr countrey, shulde go vnto Cattline

tilyne, that they myght confyrme the leage and bonde of frendeshyp with hym. And he appoynted one Tytus Vulturtius to accompany and conduit them vnto Catiline. To this Vulturtius he gaue lettres to cary to Catilyne, without any name subscribed: but after thys maner, who I am, ye shall knowe of hym that I haue sent to you. Loke that ye play the man: and thinke in what state ye be: and se what is now behoueful for you. Take hede, that ye refuse no mans helpe, be he neuer so poze. Farewell. Furthermoze he sent hym wozde by mouthe, that seing he was iudged of the Senate as an enmye, he shulde vse the ayde and helpe of bonde men, and that he shuld set forward, and without delay drawe towarde the city. For in the city al thinges were diligētly prepared and redy accozding to his appoyntement. Lastly whan they had determined, that the frenche ambassadours shuld the. iii. nonas decembzis departe out of the citie, they sent them away with Vulturtius in theyr company. About the same tyme. M. Crassus came by nyght to Ciceros house with lettres of L. Catiline, in the which Catiline exhozted hym, as one pziuye to the conspiracy, to strength and ayde them. Cicero thāked hym, and greatly pzayled the good wyl and loue that he bare to hys countrey. But for what intente Crassus dyd it, whether bicause he wold not be reputed a felowe of the conspiracy, if by chaunce it happed to be disclosed, ozels ỹ he ment well and truely, we do not certaynely knowe. Neuertheless Citero in a certayne ozation, which after Crassus dethe came to light, writethe, that M. Crassus was cōpanion of the conspiracy. But Cethegus alway blamed his felowes, bycause they tarieng for the feast of Saturne, let slyp a great occasion of victozie. he sayde,

the

the thing shuld be done forth with, without any delay, which while they taried, ỹ cõspiracy might come to light.

CL. Vulturtius with letters of Lentulus to Catilyn, and the frenche ambassadours be taken in their iourney. Cap. xvij.

BVT Marcus Cicero, knowing what nyght the ambassadours and Vulturtius wolde take their iourney, with a very frendly courage cõmanded L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinius the Pretors, that in the euenynge they shuld beset the bridge Milvius with men of armes on bothe sides, and this to accomplish, he licenced, that they shulde take with them certayne piked ponge menne of Rhetia, which he had ofte vsed to haue about hym for the safegarde of his lyfe. He disclosed to them all the hole matter, and committed the welth of the cyty to their fidelitie. They atcheued the matter diligently, like as the consul had commanded. Beholde, after midnight the frenche ambassadours, and with them Vulturtius, with a great company, came to the bridge Milvius. Then sodaynely on the tone syde of the bridge L. Flaccus, on the tother syde C. Pomtinius with their swordes drawen set vpon them. The frenche men at the first drew out their swordes: after that knowynge their intention, they lightly yelded them selues to the pretors. But Vulturtius, whan he had long defended hym selfe, warme feynt with bleding, and oft beseechyng Pomptinius to saue his lyfe, he yelded hym self to them. Than the pretors toke from the frenche men, and from Vulturtius their lettres, and sendyng spedyly tydynges to the consull, whan the day began to breke, they brought then those that they had taken vnto the consull.

¶ The Conspiratours are by Cicero brought in to the Senate, and witnesses agaynst them and accusers are examined. Cap. xxx.

BVT the Consull commaunded Gabynius, Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and M. Ceparius to come forthwith vnto hym, not doubtyng for the safegarde of the common weale, to sustayne the hatred and malice of so many noble men. All the other suspectynge nothing, came without delay, Ceparius, heryng of the matter, fledde out of the city: but within a whyle after he was taken in his iourney, and committed to the warde and kepinge of C. Terentius. But Cassius was departed out of the cytye a littell before the ambassadours, as thoughe he wold haue returned shortly agayne. When the frenchemen hadde informed the consull, that Cethegus house was ful of armour and weapons, he sent thither P. Sulpitius the Pretor, whiche brought out of Cethegus house a huge great numbre of harneyses. And whan the Consull had inquired hym, whether he intended to leade an army in to any prouince, bycause he had gathered together soo moche multitude of harneys: No truely sayde he, but I haue alway had a desire to be well furnisshed with good harneyses. Than after that, the Senate was quickely assembled, he commanded the cõspiratours and their detectours to come forth, beinge accompanied for sauegarde of his body, with a myghty strong bonde of knyghtis and gentylmen of Rome. And whan Vulturtius was brought in to the Senate, he appoynted .iiii. Senatours, C. Coscõnius the pretor, M. Messala, P. Nigidius, App. Claudius, the which shulde write al the detectours sayenges,

inter-

interrogatoris and answeres: the which men he knew to be not onely vertuous and feythefull, but also of excellēt memory and knowlege, and that coud with great celeritie easily regestre those thinges that shuld be spoken. He demaunded of Vulturtius, what busines he had with the frenche menne, whither he was goyng, to whome, and whoo delyuered to hym those lettres that were founde about hym. At the fyrste Vulturtius begamne to feine and dissemble many thinges concerning his iourney and the lettres: but after that by cōmandment of the Senate, the consull had warraunted hym, he sayde, he hadde commendations and letters of P. Lentulus, and that a fewe daies past he was allured to the felowship of this Cōspiracy by Gabinius and Ceparius, and thus he harde say, that P. Antronius, Seruius, Sylla, C. Cornelius, L. Vergunteius, and many other were of the same conspiracy: and that they had consented and agred to burne the cyty, to murder the citesens, to wast and destroy Italy, and clerely extinct the common weale. when the french men were brought in, they sayd, they had an othe and lettres deliuered them to beare to their nation: and that they herde L. Cassius say, that all they, which Vulturtius had before named, were bente with them. And in maner they told ȳ selfe same that Vulturtius had shewed of burnyng, sleing, and murdering of the citesins. And they shewed what a great strife was betwene Cethegus & the other, bicause Lentulus and the other wold do this feate at the feast of Saturne, and Cethegus sayd, this warre requyred great spede. Furthermore they declared all that Lentulus had spoken vnto theym of Sibils prophecy, and of other matters, by whose meanes, and how often they

had ben with him. Than M. Tullius caused sodeynly the lettres to be brought forth, and commanded to open theym. Fyrst he shewed them to Cethegus: he knowleged his hand and his seale. the letters were red openly, the sentence or effect of which was this: They intended surely to accomplische those thinges that they had confyrmed to their ambassadours, desyringe that they wold parfourm those thinges that their ambassadours vndertoke. Statilius lettres were redde, the effecte of which was lyke the other. After that the consul shewed the lettres to Lentulus, sayeng: knowest not thou this seale Lentulus? He graunted to be his. This is (sayde the Consull) the image of that moste noble manne, thy graund father, which only loued his countrey and citesins. the whiche dumme image ought to haue reuoked thy mynde from so horrible a dede. And he inquired of hym, whether he had not talked with the frenche men of Sibyls prophecy? And sodeynely he confessed it, which no manne thought he wold haue done. Than he had licence to speke in his defence what he wolde. But Lentulus, all though he were a good oratour, yet conuicted of his owne conscience, he was clene discouraged, out of countinance, changed colour, and had not a worde to speke. To be briefe. They confessed the truthe. And not withstandyng that Gabinius at the firste beganne stifely to denye, yet at the laste he disproued nothyng. But beside their lettres, seales, their owne handes, and euery mans confession, the feare, disturbance in theym selfe, suspensed and wauerynge countenaunce, and ofte changyng of colour condempned theym.

The

¶ The thankes and most ample preyses gyuen of the Senate to Cicero for detection of the Conspiracy. Cap. xxxi.

AFTER the detections openly publisshed, the Consull consulted with the Senate, what their pleasure was, to be done concernynge the safegarde of the commonne weale. Than fyrst the Senate gaue hym most hygh thankes, that by hys power, counsel, labour, & diligence, (with the danger of his owne lyfe) without hyrore, without bludshedinge, without an army, without contention in batayle, iiii. men being taken, the city from burnynge, the cytesyns from murder, Italy from wastyng and spoylyng, and the common weale from vtter distruction was deliuered. And they so adorned hym with laudes and preisinges, as neuer man before at any tyme with so many and so syngular wordes was in the Senate lauded. M. Catulus, the prince & chiefe of the Senatours, & M. Cato that most worthy man, and ꝑ most derely loued the cõmon weale, in the greteſt assemblyng of ꝑ Senatours, called hym Pater patriæ, the father of the contrey. L. Gellius, a man ful of honour & bountifulnes, sayd. The cõmon weale, for his reward ought to gyue hym a ciuile garlande. Finally all that had ben, or were mete to be consulles, and pretours, soo lauded hym, that there was no man, whiche dyd not gyue lyke thankes as he had ben their father. which thought not that by his meanes the cõmon weale, their goodes, their children, and theyr lyues were saued. And also they forget not to laude and preyse L. Flaccus and C. Pyrompitinus, for that the consull had founde theym soo valiaunt, so dylygent, and so feythfull in that his busines.

A ciuille garland of oken leues, was vsed to be gyuen to hym that had saued a citesin in batayle.

¶ The sentence of the Senate concernynge the conspiratours. Cap. xxxii.

THAN the chiefe rulars gaue moste sharpe and sore sentences agaynste the conspyratours. L. Iulius Caesar, a manne of great authoritie sayd: that P. Lentulus (husband to his sister Julya, being there present, and heryng hym) was worthy to suffre dethe. But the Senate decreed thus, that P. Lentulus shuld yelde vp his pretorship, and be cõmitted to ward. And also decreed, that L. Cethegus, P. Statilius, P. Gabinius, whiche were all presente, shulde be committed to warde. The selfe same was decreed (if they myght be apprehended) agaynst L. Cassius, M. Ceparius (for he was not yet taken) P. Furius, M. Chilo, P. Umbrenus, a man manumised, the whiche brought the frenche men kynde to Gabinius. Last of all, the Senate by L. Cotta, a man of excellent wysedome, highe prudence, and greatly renowmed for his noble actes, decreed to Cicero Supplications: which honour was done to no man of peace before hym. For Supplications ware alwey decreed for a thinge prosperously gested and done against an ennemie, in ciuile warre neuer was decreed. But vnto hym, not for the fleing of ennemies, but for the conseruation of the citesins, in a certayne new kynde vnharde of, it was decreed. Why Salust omitted all these thinges, I greatly marueile, except it were, bicause he was Ciceros ennemie: the which also past ouer many other thinges, lest he shulde prayse hym, whom he loued not.

Why

Why in ciuille warre Triumphe after Victory is so none graunted. Cap. xxxiii.

BVT Plinius, a great author sayth, that a triumphe was also decreed to Cicero. Albeit, I coude scacely be perswaded to beleue, that a triumphe was to Cicero decreed. For Cicero, a man alway desiringe inordinately great glory, seing he maketh mention of the Supplication in so many places of his bokes, wold not haue omitted to speke of the triumphe. And we haue not redde, that in ciuile warre a triumphe was euer decreed, nor so moche as ones desired. For L. Sylla being consull, made ciuile warre, oppressed P. Sulpitius, droue C. Marius out of the citie, and many other citesins, part he banyshed, and part he slewe. With Octauius, Cinna his felow consul varied: Fortune was fauorable to eche of theym, fyrste to Octauian, and then to Cinna and Marius she gaue victory. Agayne the same Sylla afterwarde reuenged the victory of Cinna: and yet of neyther of these is any mention made of triumphe. But M. Catulus, that most noble and wyse man, whan he had banquished M. Lepidus his felowe in office, with all his most troublous bandes and companies, dyd not triumphantly, no nor with any ioyful chere entre the citye. For the ciuile victories, although they were eyght noble, and to the weale publyke moste profitable, yet were they alwey estemed lamentable, for as moche as some parte of the cytye bewayled them. And it semed at that tyme to euery manne sufficient, Cicero so to be handeled most honorably, that in his name to the gods immortal (that as we sayd, be-

fore

foze hym neuer chanced to make) supplycation was decreed. At rising and departing of the senate, Lentulus was committed to the custody and kepinge of P. Lentulus Spincter, which was than in the office Edilis: P. Statilius to C. Cesar ỹ pretor, C. Cethegus to Q. Cornificius, and Gabinius to M. Crassus. But the common people of Rome, whiche before being desirous of new busines and ruffelynge, fauoured Catilins enterpryse, it is incredible, the conspiracy being detected, with what hert and courage they were kendled to defende their liberty. They stroue with the Senatours, which of theym loued the common weale beste. They esteemed Cicero to be a great and an excellent manne: they called hym the keper of their liberty, the preseruar of their citie, and the father of the countrey. Whose magnitude of mynde, whose counsayles, they with prayses extolled as high as heuen.

¶ The next day, the Senate gaue to the frenche ambassadours and to Titus Vulturtius, approuyng their detection, right great and ample rewardes.

¶ Cicero writeth, that at the same seasō there were many, the which no man accusing or reprouyng them, were forced with pricking of their conscience, to disclose themselues to be of the cōspiracy. The violence of the conscience is great: the whiche constreynethe men, that haue done any wycked or damnable dede, thoughe it were secretely, many tymes yet to bewray and disclose theym selues. For the conscience for the misdedes, and peine of the lawes, suffreth the transgressours not onely neuer careleſſe to take reste, but also not ones to drawe their breth without feare.

Violence of conscience.

L. Tar-

L. Tarquinius reuiled M. Craſſus to be ſuſpected of the conſpiracy. Cap. xxxiiii.

AT THE ſame tyme one of the conſpyra-tours, called L. Tarquinius (vpon a ſafe-conduct) was brought before the Senate, to open and ſhew what he knew of the con-ſpiracy: and he declared to theym the ſame thynges that the frenche ambaſſadoures and T. Vul-turtius tolde, of the burnynge of the citie, of the mur-thring of the citeſins, and of all thoſe that were confede-rate to do this miſchiefe. Moze ouer he ſayd, that M. Craſſus was companion and partner of the conſpira-cy: and howe he had certayne meſſages from hym to Catilin, that he ſhuld not be diſcouraged, al though the capitaines of the warre in the citie were taken & in hold, but that he ſhuld with al celeritie and ſpeede, haſte hym with his army to the cyty, to deliuer the Conſyptra-toures out of pziſon, and to accõpliſſh al other thinges monge theym ozdeyned and appoynted: In the cytye al thynges was full of feare. But whan Tarquinius na-med Craſſus, many of his familiar frendes, of whom he had a greatnombze, ſayd with a loude voyce: The de tectour is falſe and cozrupted with mede.

The ozation defencing made foz M. Craſſus by his frendes. Cap. xxxv.

IN ALL thynges honozable fathers (ſayd they) which are mooſte greuous and cruell, what any man woll do oz imagine, ſhulde not be pondered after the voyce and ſpeche of the people, but accozding to his life & maners, which is accuſed. Foz if M. Craſſus (pzudent fathers) ſhuld

therfore be demed culpable, bicause Tarquintus accuseth hym amonge the conspyratours, what shulde it profite hym, to haue ledde euer more hitherto a life most pure without blame or shame? What dyfference than shall there be betwene the good menne and the puell? what man most innocent or bertuous can assure hym selfe from deceytes, if it behoueth to gyue credence to the puel sayeng of euery lewde and vngratious person? But if we shall examine the lyfe of M. Crassus, what bodyly lust lurketh, what mischeuous dede lieth hydde, what crueltye, or what braynsicke boldenes: there shall be neyther errour nor obscuritie in the cause. So greate is the greatnes of this mischiefe, that without fylthy youthe, without many puel dedes before cõmitted, without a lyfe defiled with all damnable actes, with out prodigall expence with dishworship and shame, without vnbridled boldnes be shewed, and not onely braynsyke boldnes, but very furor and madnes, no manne will beleue, that euer he wolde entrepryse soo heynous, so cruell, and so bitter a dede. Furthermore we muste lay here vnto, a lust to rule, the hate of peace and good men, drede of punishement, dishonest frendes, dette, pouerty, tyme meete and conuenient. All whiche thynges excepte they be manyfest, truely (as we saye) so vngratious a dede, so cruell, and so farre agaynst all reason, wyll not be beleued. What thynge, what hope, what lewde luste coude enforce Crassus to do suche a dede? Coude nede or scarsitie compell hym, wiche is so riche, that there are fewe or none in this great multitude of men, that haue more aboundance of riches? Coude ambition, whiche oft tymes maketh many men nought! For bothe good and badde desyre glory, honour, rule, gouernances of prouinces,

uinces, dignities of the church, and triumphes. The good men by vertu: the ille men mistrustynge theyr vnworthines, by naughty and crafty menes crepe vp: and the honours whiche they, thynges beynge in quiet and good order, despeyre to wynne: by rufflynge and troubling of the cõmon weale, they thynke to opteyne. Than thus hath not Crassus in peace & rest atteyned vnto the moste ample and highe honours of the cytye without repulse? But peraduenture his vngentil maners, fierce cruelty, vnbridled boldnes enforced Crassus vnto this. Who is more courteyse then he? Who is more mylde? What dede dyd we euer se hym do, ouer boldly, or without good aduisement and consideration? We omit now the weale publike, which hath euer ben to Crassus most derely beloued: We speke nothynge of his estate, of his maner of liuinge, of his nature, of his most gentyl conditions, of his incredible loue toward good men, of his study and diligence to conserue the common quiet reste and peace. Nor we do not omit those thinges, as though they were not of most weyghty importance but bycause they are to you notably knowen. Is it than credible, that in this most honest mynde, in this lyfe, so abhominable a dede coude take place? Loke well vpon hym, and beholde those other, lay the crime and his lyfe together. Wold Crassus burne the cyty, sle the senatours, waste Italy, destroye the weale publyke, and brynge the name of the people of Rome to naught? This suspition honorable fathers, taketh no holde on this pure honest mynde, on this lyfe, on this man. They were sauage beastes, wylde and cruell, in the shape of men, that went about to destroy those thynges. And what ment it? whan Tarquinius named Antronius, Vargunteius,

Lecca, Seruius, Sylla, Cornelius, and many other, that ye all attentiuely gaue eare? For those, if no man wolde accuse them, yet their conditions and lyfe wolde conuince the ym. But whan he beganne to name M. Crassus, dyde not euery man behemently cried out agaynst hym? For no manne demed, that the lyfe of any man could so sodenly be changed, or nature altered: that he which a littel before was the beste and moste honeste man, wold a nonne after in crueltie passe the wylde beastes. Consider a littell in your myndes honorable fathers (for so shall ye vnderstande how far of, Crassus is from suspition of this heynous dede) consyder I saye, Catiline, Antronius, Cassius, Cethegus, Lētulus, Gabynius, & other men, which are alied to this detestable dede, what murthers, what aduoutries, what robberies, how many & what greate vnhard of and syngular dedes of mischiefe, of vnaynlycke boldenes, of voluptuous pleasure, of falsehod, of promise breakynge, of crueltye, of auarice shall ye fynde in these menne? who doth meruayle, that Catiline hath conspired ageinst the weale publyke? beinge of all men (sith man was fyrste formed) the most mischeuest, the most cruel, and the most fylthy. Which hath defiled so many worshipful wyues, so many noble ponge men, whom L. Sylla appoynted to slee the knyghtes of Rome: amonge the whiche he slewe Catullus his systres husbande, and M. Marius moste dercly beloued of the people of Rome. Which in Affrica destroyed many houses, spoyled many townes, and all the temples, and so vered and wasted that prouince, that (as it semed) it coude scasely be restored ageyne in many peres after. In whose lyfe there can be founde no houre voyde from aduoutry, from mourder;

from

from mischefe, from cruelty, from doing yl dedes, whom we sawe afterwardes accused of pety bribery, and incest: & whom alway al men thought to be borne to make discorde and varyance in the cõmon weale. Who wondereth, that Lentulus was familiarely acquemted with hym, seing he was nedy, sumptuous, bolde, proude, lecherous? Wherto shuld we reherse the furious brainsyckenes of Cethegus? or how he wounded Pius Metellus? Who was euer more stubborne, more fierse, or more cruell than he? And who coude be founde more voluptuous, more lecherous, more deceitful thã Antronius? whom we knewe was condempned for ambition, whom we knewe committed murther, and spoyled the temples of our confederate frendes. It were an infinite busines, to declare to you all their dedes. But it is your part honorable fathers, though we reherse them not, kepping silence inwardly to mynde all those, which are knowen to haue conspired. For ye shal wel perceiue, eche of them to be soner condemned of his owne lyfe, than by our suspition. Wyddest thou than thinke Tarquinius with those detections to bringe Crassus from this dygnitie of familiars, in to this flocke, in to this nombre of wicked captiues and parent sleers? Is it not now apparant honorable fathers, that those crymes are feyned? Do ye not se that thynge, that the detector hath sayde of Crassus, corrupted eyther with mede or hope, or with drede deprayed, otherse to procede of ennemies? Wherfore let not this gappe lye open to ennemyes, that who so euer a man doth hate, hym by somme detectour in false crimes apeled, he may rydde out of lyfe. Suffre, ỹ in most greattest crimes, the life of euery man may be his wytnes, Reteyne styll this most worthy citesin,

this moste valiant man, that most derely loued this honorable Senate, and that is so prompte and redy with harte and mynde to all thinges, that shulde be prouided for the common weale. Finally loke well to, that this most noble and most mighty man by your cruelty shuld not seme to be violently intreated.

¶ The decree of the Senate for M. Crassus, the suspition agenst Cicero, and his purgation. Cap. xxxvi.

FOR as moch as somme thought this thing incredible, and some other though they beleued it, yet knowynge the manne to be soo myghty puissaunt and rich, in such a troublous time, demed it better by all wayes and meanes to reteyne his fauour, than stere hym to displeasure, the Senate decreed, Tarquinius detection to be false, he to be committed to prison, and clene to be put to silence, excepte he wolde shewe, who instanted hym to feyne soo great a thynge. There were somme the same season that thought this detector had ben suborned by P. Antronius, to thend that Crassus, for the danger of their felowshyp, shulde with his riches helpe the conspiratours. Other there were, amōg the which also was Crassus him selfe, wyche beleued, that this man was craftily brought in by Cicero, to thende that Crassus for this suspition, shuld not take vpon hym the defence of those that were in prison. Wherupon there arose exceding greate hatred betwene Crassus and Cicero. But the ponge man P. Crassus, the preisar, the folower, and louer of Cicero, did let Crassus to pursue Cicero openly. But by whose counsayle Tarquynius was craftyly brought in, as yet we know not the certaynety. We beleue

leue not, that it was Ciceros dyfte. For this is playne, that M. Catulus and C. Piso, Cesars ennemies, coude for no fauour optepne of hym, that C. Cesar eyther by the frenche ambassadoures, or by any other detectour, shuld be named to be in the conspiracy of Catiline. And I fynde that Cicero in this busines bare hym selfe very vpryghtly with out any partialyte. He neyther accused any man as culpable of this mischiuous dede with out a clere probation, or kepte secrete for frendship, or for mede conceled any man.

¶ Of Lentulus and his fekowes seditious seruantes bond and fre, and wonderfull token shewed to Cicero. Cap. xxxvii.

WHILE these thinges were in doyng, all Lentulus and Cethegus seruantes bonde and free, ran about from tauerne to tauerne, from shoppe to shop to stur vp the myndes with mede of suche as were nedy and naught. And whan they had reysed vp a great rout of craftis menne, they by dyuers wayes prepared to inuade the Pretors houses. But the Consull, hauynge knowlege therof had in his mynd many imaginations, what shulde be done with the conspiratours that were take, and in holde. if he shuld do punishemente on them, the conspiracy were extyncte: but being mylde and mercifull in all his lyfe, he dradde the name of cruelty: and right wel forsawe, that for this matter he shulde in tyme to come be in danger of greate hatred and enuie. While he mused on this matter, somme write, that this wonderfull token was shewed to hym, as they were doing sacrifice in his house for the people. on the altar, the fire being

being almoste quenched, sodeynly out of the asshes and imbers a longe and a pure flame burned vp bright, and answere was made by the diuinours, that Cicero shuld not doubt to accomplysh those thinges for the common weale, whereabout he in his mynd so moch mused, & that therby to hym of the goddes immortall was sygnified great fame and glorie. I dare not affirme, whether this be true or no, bycause we rede that suche sacrifice for the people, was not want to be done in ỹ consuls house, but alwayes in the high bishops. Furthermore Cicero was nothing moued with such wonderfull signes & tokens.

## ¶ The sentence of D. Syllanus and other noble men gyuen ageynst the conspiratours. Cap. xxxviii.

THAN the consull strongelye fortified the citie, and with al celeritie and spede assembled the Senate, and required their aduise, what shuld be done with those that were in hold. Than D. Sillanus, elected to be consul, was first desyred to say his mynd, whose sentéce was, that those that were in warde, also L. Cassius, whiche desired to be charged with the burnynge of the citi, P. Furius, Manlius Chilo, Q. Annius, P. Umbrenus, whiche were alway occupied in solicityng the frenche ambassadours (if they myght be taken) shulde be put to dethe. To this agreed the other that had ben or lyke to be consuls, and namely Q. Catulus, in an oration full of seueritie, sayd, that the conspiratours ought not to lyue and enioye this lighte one moment of an houre. But whan it came to C. Caesar, and T. Nero, to saye theyr myndes, they began to reason the contrary, and sayd. They ought not to be put to deathe, bycause

the

the lawes dyde it prohibyte, but their iudgement was that the conspiratours, their goodes beyng confiscate, shuld be sundred and surely kept in dyuerse holdes, vntyll that Catilyne were by warre vanquished. This matter Salust writeth as foloweth.

¶ The oration of C. Caesar, wherin he contendeth, that the conspiratours shulde not be put to deth, but kepte continually in prison. Cap. xxxix.

IT BECOMETH all menne, honorable fathers, which shall gyue counsayle and saye their aduise in matters doubtfull, to be cleane without hatred, frendshyp, wrathe, and mercy. The mynde can not easily forsee the trouthe, where those affections beare a stroke, nor no man at one tyme foloweth his yl affection, and the profit of the weale publyke. where vnto a manne applyeth his wyt, there it auayleth. If affection possesse the wyt, she ruleth, reason auayleth nothynge. I coulde abundantly recyte vnto you honorable fathers, what kinges and people moued with wrath or mercy, haue yll and hurtfully ordered theym selfes in consultation, but I wyll rather reherse to you, what our forefathers haue done wel & ordinatly ageynst their natural inclination. ¶ In the warre of Macedony, which we made ageinst the kynge of Perse, the great and myghty cyty of Rhodes, (which increased in great ryches by the goodes of the people of Rome) was vnto vs contrarye and vnfaithful. But after the war was finished, they coũceled what shulde be done of the Rhodians: Our forefathers let them go vnpunished, lest any man shulde say, that the warre was begun ageynste theym, more for wyn-

nyng of tyches than to reuenge iniury.

Also in al the warres Punycke, whan the Carthaginois, ofte tymes both in tyme of peace and truce dyd many detestable deedes ageynste al tyght, yet our fozefathers hauyng occasyon, neuer dyd such thinges, they sought moze, what became them, then what they might laufully do ageynst their enemies. This thing also, honozable fathers, shuld of you be fozesene, leste the detestable deede of P. Lentulus, and the other conspiratours, shuld moze infozce you to reueng, than besemeth your dygnyty, oz rather incline to your wzathe, than to your honozable fame. Foz if wozthy punyshment foz their deedes be founde, I appzoue new council. But if ỹ gretnes of ỹ mischeuous dede doth passe al mens wits, my mynd is to vse those punishmentes which are ozdeyned by the lawes. Many of them ỹ befoze me haue sayd theyz mindes, discretely and magnificently haue bewailed the decay of the cõmon weale, and haue ful eloquẽtly reckened vp, how cruel a thing warre is, what yuels chanceth to them that are conquered, the virgins rauished, the yong babes and childzen vyolently pulled out of the fathers and mothers armes, the honeste wyues must suffre what soo euer please the subduers, the tempies and houses are spoyled, slaughter, and burnynges are done, finally all thinges fylled with armour, carcases, bloud, and lamentations. But tell me I pzay you, wherto serueth that ozation? was it to stomake you ageynst the conspiracy? If so great and so cruell a dede will not moue a mans spirites, shall an ozation kendell hym? It is not lykely. Noz there is no moztall creature that thinkethe his wzonges littell: many haue taken these their iniuries moze greuously than right requi-

red.

red. But some thyng honorable fathers may better be suffred in some men than in other some. If the priuate persons, that lyue obscurely vnknowen, cõmit through anger any dishoneste dede: Fewe know it, Their fame & fortune are egal. The great rulars and hygh gouernours, all men know their actes. So in hygheſt felycitie, is leaſt liberty to do a mysse. It besemethe suche menne not to be spitefull, not to beare hatred, but in no wyse to be angry. The affection which in other is called anger, in the hygh rulars is named Pryde and crueltie. Surely, honorable fathers, I deme all turmentes lasse than their detestable dedes. But many men remẽbring the last punishementes, and forgetting the mischeuous dede of the transgressours, they reason of the peyne, whether it be more cruell than it shulde be. I surely knowe, that what so euer the honorable and moste baliant man D. Syllanus hath sayde, he spake it for the great affection that he beareth to the common weale. Neyther hath he in so weyghty a cause, said any thynge for fauour, nor yet for hatred, I know his maners and sobrenes to be suche. Truly his sentence to me semeth not cruel (for what cruelty can be done to suche menne. but yet not all thynge agreable to the common weale. For certeynely either dreade or iniury hath constreyned you Syllanus, chosen consull for the yere to come, to adiudge the conspiratours to suffre a new kynde of punishment. As touchyng feare, to reason therof it were but in vayne, namely sith the great dyligence of the noble consul hathe soo strongly warded and defended the cyty with men of armes. As concernyng their punishment, I may speke as the truthe is, that death to those that be in heupnes and misery is not a tourment, but

rather a quyet and reſt from all wofull wretchednes. For death fynyſhethe al griefes and euyls that mortall creatures endure. But I pray you Syllane, why dyd you not adde, that they ſhulde be fyrſt beaten? was it bycauſe the lawe Portia, or ſome other lawes do prohibit it? Lykewyſe the lawes forbyd that citezins condemned ſhuld be put to death, but they commaund to baniſhe them. Left ye that vnſpoken, bycauſe it is more greuous to be beaten, than to be put to deathe? And yet what punyſhemente is to cruel or greuous to men conuicte of ſoo great and deteſtable a deede? But, if you ſpake not of beatynge, bycauſe it is eaſier: how inconuenient is it to feare the law in the leſſe buſines, and to neglecte it in the greater? For who ſhall reprehend that that is decreed agaynſt traitours to the common weale? Tyme, day, fortune, after whoſe luſte nations are ruled. To them what ſoo euer euyl hapneth, chanceth accordyng to their deſeruunges. But conſider honorable fathers, what lawes ye ordeyne for other. Al euyl examples take their begynning of good thiges: for after imperial gouernance inſtituted by good mē, came to ỹ handling of thoſe that were euel: ỹ new exāple was tranſferred from the worthy & mete, to the vnworthy & vnmet perſones. Whan the Lacedemonians had ſubdued ỹ Athenienſes, they ordeyned. xxx. menne to rule ỹ cōmon weale. They at the fyrſt put no man to dethe, but ſuche as for their offences were iuſtely condemned. The people was ryght glade of this law, and ſayde, it was very well done. But after, this licence increaſing by littell and littell, they ſlewe for their pleaſure as wel good men as bad, and put the other in feare, and ſo the citie beynge oppreſſed with bondage and thraldome,

they

they greuously repented they? former folysche gladnes.
¶We remembre, Sylla hauynge the vpper hande, commaunded Damasippus and suche other hope lostes, that were growen riche, to the great hurte of the common weale, to be put to dethe. Who dyd not preyse his dede? They sayd, vngratious and detestable persons, and such as with seditions troubled the cõmon weale, were wel and iustely put to dethe. But that thing was the beginnyng of a great mischefe. For if any of Syllas souldiours coueted to haue any mans house in the citye, manour in the countrey, iewell, or garment, they dyd their endeuoure, that he, whose good they desired, might be amonge the nombre of theym that were proscripted. So that they, which reioysed at the death of Damasippus, were sone after brought to the same end. Neyther was there any ende of slaughter vntyll that Sylla had aboundantly satisfyed his souldiors with ryches. But I neither feare this thing in M. Tullius, nor at this tyme, but in a great cytie, many and diuerse are the wittes. An other tyme, an other beynge consul, and hauynge an army at his commaundement, some thynge false may be beleued to be trew: whan suche a consull, after this example, by decree of the senate, shall draw out his sworde, who shall make hym put it vp? or who shall moderate hym? Our auncestours, honorable fathers, wanted at any tyme neyther councell, nor boldnes, neyther pryde letted theym to folow the lawes and maners of other nations, if they were allowable. Armur and weapons of warre, they toke of the Sammites, many ornamentes belongynge to the great offycers and rulars, they receyued of the Tuscayns. Finally, where so euer they saw any mete or con-

A man proscripted, was in case that the fyrste that met hym might lawfully sle hym.

uenient thyng amonge their frendes or foes, the same with great dilygence they vsed at home. They wolde rather folow, than enuy those that were good. But our auncestours folowyng the maners of the Greekes, punished their citezens with beatynges, and put to death suche as were condemned. After the publike weale increased, and that partakynge among the people began to grow, by reason of the multitude: the innocentes began to be circumuented, and other such lyke mischifes to be practised. than the lawe Portia and other lawes were ordeined, by the which exyle was granted to them that were condemned. Therfore I thynke this cause, mooste honorable fathers, to be very great, wherby we shall not nede to take any new councell. Verily, there was more vertu and wysedome in them, that of so smal ryches brought this empire to soo great welth and renoume, than in vs. whiche can scasely mayntayne and kepe thinges wel wonne. Is it therfore my mynd that they shuld be let go, and increase Catilines army? No truly. But my iudgement is that their goodes be forfet, and they to remayn in pryson in suche townes belongynge to Rome, as be moste welthy. Nor that none from henforthe shulde sue to the senate, or laboure to the people for them. And he that wolde so do, the senat to esteme hym to do ageynste the weale publike, and sauegarde of vs all.

¶ The oration and sentence of Caesar, pleased very moch euen the frendes of Cicero. Cap. xl.

WITH this oration of Caesar, soo moche altered were mēs mindes quickly, and such dreed of false accusation and cruelty toke theym: that D. Syllanus greatly

greatly repented hym of his sentence, that he was the principal and chiefe that iudged the conspiratours to deathe: and was glad afterwardes with interpretation to mitigate his sentence (for shame it ws to chaung it,) and so to folow the iudgment of Tiberius Nero. And some other there were, that wolde rather seme more bolder in giuing sentēce, which said: They minded nothing their owne perilles, but feared lest the consul shuld not be stronge ynough to accomplyshe their ordinaunces. But the frendes and kynsfolke of the consul were most specially moued with this oration. They considerynge what great enuy and hatred of the commune people myght hereafter arise ageynst Cicero, if the senat breakynge the lawe Portia, shulde without the consente of the people, put noble citezins to deathe, they all agreed to the sentence of Caesar, and prayed the consul that he wolde loke to his owne saluegard and profit, neyther colde they in the meane whyle absteyne from teares. Caesar, by his oration drawynge soo many to hym, among whom was also Mu. Cicero, had obteyned his purpose, if the oration of the most prudent consul, and Cato, had not encouraged the senatours myndes, that began to quayle. The consul was of nature mylde and mercifull, but except he shuld than haue shewed sharpnes, he sawe the weale publyke lyke to be brought in to great danger. For if they shewed them selfe more softe and gentyll, they demed that the conspiratours shulde be the bolder and more encouraged, and in the meane tyme, some commotion myght ryse in the citie. But if they shewed them selfes very behement ageynst those that were taken, he foresawe, that all the puissaunce, all the hope, all the ryches of the conspiratours, these perilles

rylles of the citye beynge put away, shulde sodeinely quayle. And though he vnderstode, that this thynge could not be brought to passe without great daungiere of his owne lyfe, yet so derely loued he the cómon weale, that he more estemed the welth publike, than his owne lyfe. Than whan he sawe the senate inclinynge to Caesars sentence, coueryng to stay them begynnyng to wauer, rose vp, and sayde as here after foloweth.

### ¶ The oration of the consul ageynst the conspiratours. Cap. xli.

IYSE, honorable fathers, all your byssages and eyes turned towarde me, I see you not onely for your owne peryl, and for the publyke weale, but also (if that were put awaye) very heuy and thoughtfull for the danger that I am in. Your good wyll towarde, me is to me in aduersitie ioyful, and in sorow acceptable: But I beseche you for the goddes sakes immortall, set a syde that good wyll, and forgettynge my saluegarde, thynk vpon your selfe and your chyldren. If this condition of consulshyp be gyuen me, that I shulde suffer all bytter aduersities, all sorowes, all tormentes, I wyll beare them not onely stoutly, but also wyllyngly: so that by my trauayls to you, and the people of Rome, honorable fathers, dignity and prosperity may be procured. I am that consull honorable senatours, for whose sake neyther the common place of iudgement, wherin al equity is conteined: nor the field, consecrate for the chosing of high officers: nor this court of senatours, the speciall ayde of all nations: nor my house, the common refuge of all men: nor

my

my bedde ordeyned for rest, nor fynally this honorable place, this seate appoynted for the moste hygh gouernours, was neuer voyde from peryll of death, and disceites. Many thynges haue I kept secrete, many thinges haue I endured, many thynges haue I granted, many thynges to my great sorowe, beinge in drede for you, haue I holpe. Now if the goddis immortall wyll this to be the ende of my consulshyp, that I shulde delyuer you honorable fathers, and the citezens of Rome from myserable slaughter, your wyues and chylderne and the vyrgyns Vestales, frome vtter veration, the temples and holy places, this out moste goodly countrey from moste cruell bournyng, al Italy from warre and destruction, what so euer fortune is appoynted to me onely, I wyll aduenture it. For if P. Lentulus, induced by the southsayers, thought that his name was predestinate to distroy the publyke weale, why shulde not I reioyse, that my consulshyp is ordeyned for the conseruation of the same common weale? Wherefore honourable fathers, prouyde for your selues, se to the sauegard of your countrey, saue your selfes, your wyues, your chyldren, and your goodes, and defende the name and welthe of the people of Rome: take ye noo care nor thought for me. For fyrst my specyall trust is, that all the goddis, whiche preserue this cytie, wyll rewarde me, accordyng to my deseruynges. Secondly, if any thyng chaunce, I wyl with an vpryght mynde, and a good courage, dye. For vnto a valyant manne deathe is not shamefull, nor vnto a Consul it commeth not to sone, ne vnto a wyse man it is not wretched. And yet haue I not so yron a stomacke, but that I am moued with the sorowe of my moste derely louyng brother

here present, and with the teares of all those, which ye se inuiron me about: also my wyfe that is halfe deade, ofttymes reuoketh my mynde homewardes, and my doughter well nere dead for feare, and my lytell sonne, the whyche seemeth to me, dothe embrace the common weale, as a pledge of my consulshyp, nor my sonne in law, that standeth here awayting the ende of this day. all these thynges doo moue me, but yet in suche wyse, that all shuld be in sauetie with vs, yea rather I wold some vyolence shoulde oppresse me, than they, and we with the common weale shoulde perysshe togyther. Wherfore honourable fathers, stycke to the sauegarde of the common weale, prouyde surely for all stormes that maye falle. Without ye take good hede, not C. Gracchus, whiche wolde ones agayne be made protectour of the communaltie, nor C. Gracchus, that went about to renyue the lawes Agrarie, nor L. Saturninus, which slew C. Memmius, is brought to any ieopardy, or to your sharpe iudgemente: but they are in holde, that tarryed styll in Rome, to bourne the citie, to mourder you al, and so to receyue in Catilyn. We haue theyr letters, theyr seales, theyr owne hand writynges, and fynally eche of theyr own confessions. The frenche ambassatours are sollicited, the slaues and seruauntes are styrred vp, Catilyn is sent for. This councell haue they taken, that all beyng slayne, no man shuld be left, to bewayle the name of the common weale, and to lament the calamitie of so great an empire. Al these thinges the detectours haue declared, the accused haue confessed. You haue iudged it by many tokens soo to be: Fyrst in that ye haue giuen me high thankes in special wordes, and haue affirmed, that by myne industry and

dilligence, the conspiracy of these hope lostes, is openly knowen: further in that ye haue compelled Lentulus to yeld vp his office of Pretorship. Also in that ye haue gyuen sentence, that he and the other shoulde be committed to ward, and specially that ye haue decreed procession to be made in my name, which honour was neuer done to any man in tyme of peace before me. Finally, in that ye rewarded yesterday so magnyficently the frenche ambassatours and T. Vulturtius. All whiche thynges are of suche sort, that they, whiche by name are put in holde, without doubt seme of you to be condemned. But I determyned to referre holly vnto you honorable fathers, both what you wyl iudge of the dede, & what you wyl determyne touchyng the punyshement. I wyl shewe you before, what pertayneth to the cõsul. ¶ I behelde not longe sense, great fury waltrynge in the weale publyke, and som new myschefes abrewing. But I neuer thought this so great and so mortal a cõspiracy to be enterprised of citesens. Nowe, what so euer it be, whither soo euer your myndes and sentences inclyne, it muste be determyned er nyght. You see into howe great a daunger we be brought, wherunto yf ye thynke, a fewe are confederate, you are farre wyde. This myschiefe is sprawled abrode further than you thynke: For it hath not onely ouerflowen Italy, but is also runne ouer the mountayns Alpes, priuily creping forth, hath now inuaded many prouinces. This thing in no wyse can be oppressed by sustaynyng and prolonggyng therof. What so euer way it pleaseth you to take, you must spedily determyne therupon. I se there are two sondry sentences. one of Syllanus, whose iugement was, that they, whyche were bent on this greatte

myschiefe shulde be put to deth. The other of C. Cesar the whiche dysalowyng the punyshment of deth, wold they shuld suffer all greuous peyne and tourment. Eyther of them, accordyng to his dignitie, and weyght of the cause, with great grauitie handlyd the matter. The one thought, that they whiche indeuoured theym selfe to slee vs all, and the people of Rome, whiche wold distroye the empyre, that wolde extincte the name of Romaynes, were not worthye to lyue the mynute of an howre. And that kynd of punyshment oftentymes executed vppon suche naughtye citesens in this common weale, remayneth of record. The other vnderstandeth that dethe is not ordeyned of the goddis immortal, as a punyshment, but as a necessitie of nature, orels a rest from trauayle and myseries. Therfore wise men neuer grutched agaynst it, yea oftentymes they with a hardy courage, and wyllyngly desyred deth. And to lye in prysons perpetually in pryson, is a syngular punyshment inuented for heynous offences. He wyllethe, that they shulde be seuered into sundry townes, whyche thing if he wolde haue cõmanded, standeth but lytel with equitie, if he wolde desyre it, it semeth a harde thynge to be done: yet if it please you, let it be so decreed. For I wyll take it vpon me, and I trust to fynde theym, that wyll not thynke it to be agaynst theyr dignitie and honour, to do that ye shall ordeyne for the wealthe of vs all. He chargeth the townsmen with a great penaltie, if any of them breake prison, and wold they shuld be surely kept, and hath appoynted peynes mete for such greuous offenders, and that there shal no man labour, neyther by the senate, nor by the people, to mitigate the punyshementes that they are condempned to suffre. Also he ta-

keth away the hope, whiche only is wont to be a mans comfort in misery: and moreouer he wylleth theyr goodes to be confiscate. The lyfe onely he leaueth to those wycked offendours, whiche if he wolde haue taken away: with one grefe he shulde haue dispatched theym of many tribulations of mynde and bodye, and of all peynes of transgressions. And bycause the yl doers in theyr lyfe shuld stande in some dreede, our forefathers sayd, that suche peynes as be in hell were ordeyned for wycked lyuers, meanynge therby, that yf the feare of suche infernall peynes were taken away, men wold no whyt be afrayde of deathe.

Nowe honourable fathers, I see howe this thynge toucheth me, if you shulde folowe Caesars mynde, bicause he leaneth to the way of the common weale, that is acceptable to the people, peraduenture I shall not nede greatly to feare the furious rage of the people, he being the author of this sentence, but if you wil folow the others sentence, I doubt whether it shal turne me to more busynes yea or nay. But yet the profyte of the common weale wayeth more with me, than all myne owne perylles. We haue also Caesars mynde and sentence (accordyng to his honourable estate, and as it be semith a man descended of so noble a lineage) as a pledge of his contynuall good wyl to the common weale. And be vnderstande, what difference is betwene the myldnes of oratours, and hym that truly loueth the people, and tendereth theyr welth. I se that some of them, whyche wold be sene to fauor the people, be absent, bicause they wyll not gyue sentence of deathe agaynst the citizens of Rome. This man not thre dayes past, cõmytted to warde Cethegus, and P. Lentulus citesens of

Rome, and decreed vnto me processions, and yesterday he gaue great rewardes to the detectours of the conspiracy. Nowe there is noo man that doubteth, what his mynde and iudgement is concernynge all this busynes, whiche committed the offendours to warde, that so greatly thanked the Questor, and decreed the detector to be so highly rewarded. But C. Cesar vnderstãdeth the lawe Sempronia to be constituted and made for the citesens of Rome: but he that is an ennemye to the common welthe, can in noo wyse be a cytesyn, and farther the selfe maker of the lawe Sempronie, was by commandement of the people greuously punyshed. He also demeth Lentulus to be lyberal and not prodigall: and that he, that so sharply, so cruelly imagened, by what meanes he myght destroye this cõmon weale, and confounde this citie, maye be called a fauourer of the people. And so this moste mylde and courteys man doubteth not to commande, that Lentulus shuld lyue perpetually fettred in darke prison. Also he hath establyshed, that no man hereafter booste hym selfe, that he mytigated his peyne, & that no man, offendyng ageinst the common weale, be reckned a fauourer of the people. He wylleth furthermore, theyr goodes shuld be confyscate, that beside all theyr tormentes of mynde and body, they shoulde be oppressed with nede and pouertie. Wherfore whether ye wyl determyn this, ye must cause the people to here me with loue and fauoure: Or if ye wyll rather folowe the sentence of Syllanus, ye shall easyly defende bothe you and me from blame of cruelty. And yet honorable fathers, what crueltie can there be, in punyshyng so great and so cruell a deede? Truely I speake accordyng to my mynde: for so mote I with

you enioye the common weale, as I, that in this cause am ryght vehement, am not moued with any crueltie of mynde. For who is more mylder than I: but yet after a certayne singular humanite and mercy. For why me thinketh that I see this citie, the lantern of the hole worlde, and the fortresse of defence for all nations, sodeynly by burnyng fall in desolation. I se in my mynd our countrey cleane destroyed, and the myserable heapes of citesyns lye vnburied. The furious loke of Cethegus frantyke madde in the slaughter of you, is neuer out of my syght. When I calle to remembraunce Lentulus, reygnyng lyke a kinge, like as he confessed to haue sene hym selfe by predestination: Gabinius arayed in a purple weede: and Catiline come with his armye: O howe I than abhorre to se the lamentation of the honest wyues, the flyght of yonge maydes and chylderne, and the trouble of the vyrgynes Vestales. And bycause these thynges seme to me vehemently miserable and to be pitied: therfore I shew my self sharp and vehement agaynste those, that wolde haue performed them. I aske you, whether that housholder, which dothe most sharpely and greuously punysshe his seruant, that sleeth his chyldren, kylleth his wyfe, and burneth his house, is to be counted mylde and mercyfull, or els fierce and cruell? I iudge hym importunate and of an yron courage, that wold not asswage his sorowe with the tormentyng of suche a seruant: In lyke maner we shall be reckened mercyfull, yf we shewe our selues moste sharpe and vehement ageynste those that wolde murder vs, our wyues, our chyldren, that with all their endeuour go about to destroye euery mannes house, and this vnyuersall common weale, which haue

done

done theyr beste, to haue stablysshed the nation of Delphinoys in the steppes of this citie, and in the asshes of this empire, distroyed with fyre: but yf we woll be sene to be tempsse and neglygent, we shalbe vtterly defamed of crueltie, for sufferynge our countrey and citesens to be distroyed. Excepte any man wyll thynke L. Caesar that noble and valyant man, and that mooste derely loueth this common weale, was the other daye very cruel, whan he sayd, that his sisters husband, that moste honorable lady, beinge present. and heryng hym, was worthy to dye. Whan he sayd, Flaccus was slayn by the consuls cõmandement: and his sonne, not.xiiii. yere of age, bounde and cast into pryson to be slayne. Was any of theyr dedes lyke this? what counsayle toke they to destroy the common weale? Largesse was than vsed in the cõmon weale, to come to honour, and some contention and part takynge. And euen at that tyme this Lẽtulus grandfather, that moste noble mãbe ing armed, pursued Gracchy, & was thã sore woũded, to the ende the hygh dignitie of the cõmon weale shuld nothynge be blemysshed. This Lentulus hath styred vp the Frenchemen to tourne vp set downe this common weale: he hath reysed slaues and bondemen, he hath callyd forthe Catiline, he hath allotted vs to Cethegus, the other cytesens to be slayne by Gabinius. the citie to be burned by Cassius, al Italy to be wasted and spoyled by Catilyne. I deme, you dyede, lest that in this so cruell and cursed a dede, ye shulde be sene to determyne any thynge ouer sharpe or rigorous: whan it is moche more to be feared, lest by neglygene of punyshement we shall seme rather cruel to our countrey, than by sharpnes of punyshement ouer vehement a-

gaynst

gaynst our moste cruell ennemies.

¶ But honorable fathers, I can nat dissemble, that I haue herd spoken. For wordes at blowe abrode, whiche are come to my herying, of them, that seme to feare, leste I shal not be stronge inough to execute those thinges, that ye shall this day determyne to be done. All thynges prudent fathers, ar foresene, prepared, and in a redynesse by my no lyttell care and diligence, but moche more by the good courage that the commynaltie hath to mayntayne and defende this most high empire, and theyr owne goodes. They be all, of euery state and degree, and of euery age, bent hereupon. The market place is full, soo be all the wayes and passages to this place and temple. This cause, syth the buylding of the citie, is founde to be alone, in the which al agree on one selfe thynge: excepte those, whyche, seynge they muste nedes ende theyr wretched lyfe, they had rather dy with all other, than perysche alone. Those men I except, and gladly seuer them from vs. Nor I accompt not theym amonge the numbre of honest citesins, but from hensforth to be taken for our mooste cruell ennemies. But good lorde, with howe great multitude, with what fauour and affection, with what good hart and courage do all other consent and agree to the dignite and welth of vs all? wherto shoulde I here reherse the gentyll men of Rome, whiche so gyueth place to you in degree and consultation, that they wylle contende with vs in loue of the common weale? the whiche this daye and this cause hath retired from longe dissention and debate, had with this order, and knytte your faste frendes togyther: whyche knot of frendshyp confyrmed in my consulshyppe, if we contynually kepe in the common

weale, I assure you after this no ciuile harme among
oure selfe, shall endomage the common weale on noo
syde, with lyke fauour to defende the common weale,
I see the treasourers, (men moste hardy and valyant)
assemble theym selues togyther. Also all the notaries
and scrybes, whiche in great numbre chaunce this day
hath brought to the treasour howse. I perceyue they,
lokynge to what ende this busynes wyll come, ar fully
bent on the common welth. Here is also the holle mul-
titude of the meane sorte of freemen. For who is he, to
whome those temples, the aspecte of this citie, the pos-
session of libertie, and fynally this lyght, and this our
native countrey, is not dere, swete, and pleasant. It is
a ioyfull thynge honorable fathers, to see the fauoure
and affection of the lybertines, whiche chaunceynge to
enioye the franches of this citie, accompt it to be theyr
owne countrey: whiche citie some that be here borne,
and comme of noble lynage, iudge not theyr countrey,
but take it as a towne of theyr enemyes. But wherto
shall I recyte vnto you those men and degrees, whom
theyr owne priuate cõmoditie, the common profite, free-
dome and libertie, of al thynges the most swetest, hath
awaked and styred to defende the welth of theyr coun-
trey? There is no slaue, whose seruile condition is any
thyng tollerable, whiche doth not vtterly abhorre the
saucy and malapert boldnes of our citizins, that wold
not haue thẽ bridled, that doth not, as moch as he dare
and as moche as he can, applye his good wylle for the
cõmon weale? Wherfore if haply any of you be moued
with this, that a rumour is blowen abrode, that a cer-
tayn tuskyan, longing to Lentulus, rũneth about from
shop to shop, hoppynge with mede to steare and reyse vp



coutes

routes of such as be nedy and ignorant what thynges meane: Surely this was begunne and attempted: but yet there was none found so pooze noz so wzetched, but that wyleth and desyzeth, that his shoppe and place, where he getteth his lyuynge, his chambze foz his bed, and the quiet course of his lyfe, myght be in safegard. And the moste parte of those, that lyue by theyz handy crafte, yea I should say, this vnyuersal kynd of people, do loue to lyue in quiete and reste. Foz all theyz instrumentes, theyz wozkes and wynninges are mayntayned by concurse and resozte of people, and nourished with peace and concozde, whose gaynes and wynnynges, if by shuttynge in of theyz shoppes, is wonte to be myny shed, what shall they gette whan they be bourned. These thynges beynge thus, honourable fathers, you canne lacke noo helpe to defende the common weale: Take ye good hede, that ye fayle not the cõmon welth: you haue the Consull, escaped frome many perylles and disceytes, and from the very poynte of deathe, not onely foz his owne lyfe, but foz your welthe reserued: all states and degrees with one mynde, one wylle, one fauour, oone foyce, with oone voyce, consente to saue and defende the commune weale. This oure countrey besette aboute with fyzebzondes and weapons of this wycked conspyzacy, meekely holdeth vp her handes to you. To you she commendeth the lyfe of al her cyteslyns, the castell and Cappytoll, the aultares and ymages, the perpetualle bourninge fyze of the goddesse Uesta, the Temples and Chapelles of the Goddis, the walles and buyldynges of the Cytie.

Furthermoze, you muste this daye gyue a Jugement, concerning your owne lyfe, your wiues and childerns

lyues, and that toucheth all your goodes, possessions, and howses. You haue a capitayne myndefull of you, and forgetfull of hym selfe, whyche abilitie is not alway gyuen, that a man forgettynge hym selfe, shulde be myndfull of other. Ye haue al estates and degrees, all men, the holle publyque weale, it that in a cyuyle cause, we shall this daye fyxte see, agreyng all as one. Calle to mynde, that one nyght shall vtterly confound and bryng to nought, this impyre, founded with so great labours, our lybertie stablysshed with so greatte prowesse, our goodes so greatly increased and augmented by the benignitie of the goddis. You must this day so prouyde, that neuer hereafter this thyng be not only done, but that noo man ymagyne to doo suche a dede. And those thynges I haue not spoken to encourage you, whiche in fauour and good zeale, farre passe me, but to the ende, that my voyce, whyche oughte to be chiefe in the common weale, shulde be sene to supplye the duetie of a consull. Nowe before that I returne to the sentence, I wyll somewhat speake of my selfe.

¶ Me thynketh I haue got as greate a multitude of ennemyes, as there is in noumbre of conspiratours, whych ye se is very great, but this great route I iuge to be shamefull, weake, not to be regarded, and verye abiectes. But yf hereafter this multitude, prouoked by any mannes furye or myschief, doth more preuayle than youes, and the common welthes dignitie: yet honorable fathers, I wyll neuer repente me of those dedes that I haue done, or of the councels that I haue gyuen. For deathe, wherwith perchance they threaten me, no man can escape. More greatter prayse than ye haue gyuen me in my lyfe, by your decrees neuer man

obtey-

obteyned. For alway vnto other, for well gouernynge of the common weale, but vnto me for the conseruation therof, ye haue decreed ryghte hygh thankes.

¶ Let the noble Scipio haue his renoume, by whose councell, prowes, and policy, Hannibal was constrained to retourne into Aphrike, and to departe out of Italy. Let Aphricanus be adourned with moste hyghe laude, whiche distroyed two greate cities, Carthage, and Numantia, moste greuous enmies to this impire. Let hin L. Paulus be counted for a mā most excellent, whose chariot, Perses sometyme a kyng most mighty and most noble, dyd greatly honor. Let Martius haue eternall glory, whiche twyse delyuered Italy from inuasion and drede of seruitude and thraldom. Let Pompeius be preferred aboue all other, whose conquestes and knightly actes ar knowen through all the worlde. And surely among the honourable renoume and praises of these men, our glory must take som place, except peraduenture it be a greater feate to conquere to vs prouinces, by whiche we myghte haue passage than it is warely to prouyde, that they that are absent, maye haue a place. whither as conquerors they may returne agayne. Not withstandynge the state of outwarde bicter is in one thyng better. thā the domestical, bicause strange enemyes subdued, do eyther serue vs, or receyued as frendes, do thynke them selfe bounde vnto vs. But yf any of our cytesyns, throughe some madnesse warynge lewde and nought, begyn ones to be enmies to theyr countrey, wham we go aboute to withstande, that they endomage not the common weale, we cannot ther by violence restrayne theym, nor with benefittes pacify them. Wherfore I see welle. I haue entred into

continuall warre with these hope lost citesyns, the whi-
che I trust through the ayde of you and all such other
as ar good and vertuous, remembring so great perils,
of the which not only we, that ar reserued and kept, but
al nations shal speke and beare in mynd, easily to repel
from me & myne. For assuredly there can not be found
so great force & violence, that can breake & quaple your
vnitie and the gentilmen of Rome, and so great consent
and agrement of all good men. Seinge honorable fa-
thers, ỹ these thinges ar thus, for myn impire, for myne
army, for my prouynce, whiche I neglected, for my tri-
umph, and other notable thynges of laude and preise,
whiche for your cities sake and safegard of your wel-
thes I forsoke, for my clyentes, for the men of my pro-
uynce, for the right of hospitalitie: for all these thyn-
ges, and for my syngular fauour and affection to you,
for that dilygence whiche you see in me to preserue the
weale publyke, I aske nothynge elles of you, but the
remembrãce of my Consuls shyp all this tyme. Which
being fast fyxed in your myndes, I iudge my self sure-
ly fenced aboute with a walle most stronge. But if my
hope be dispoynted and quayled by the power of the
lewde and naughty, I cõmend to you my lyttel sonne:
to whome surely it shalbe a sufficient garrysõ of de-
fence, not onely for his sauegard, but also for his high
aduancement, if ye wylle vouchesafe to remembre hym
to be his sonne, which with his peryll alone preserued
all these thynges. Wherfore mooste prudent fathers,
ordeyne and prouyde dylygentely and boldely, as ye
beganne, for your owne wealth, your wyues and chil-
derne, for your aultars and oratoryes, for your Cha-
pelles and temples, for the buyldynges and sytuati-

ons

ons of all this citie, for this empire, for your lybertie, for the wealth of Italye, and for the vnyuersall weale publyke. For ye haue a consull, that doubteth not to obey your decrees, and as longe as lyfe is in hym, and to the vttermoste of his power, to defende those ordynaunces that ye shall decree.

Than the Consull had ended his oration, turnyng hym to Marcus Cato, whome he knewe loued his countrey moste entierly, of a stoute stomacke, a prudent counsayllour, and excedynge constaunt, desyred hym to saye his mynde. Than M. Cato rose vp, and spake in this maner:

The oration of M. Cato taken out of Sallustre. Capitulo. xlii.

WHAN I cõsyder, honorable fathers, our busynes, and the greate daunger that we stande in, whan I oft thynk on som mens sentences: my mynde is farre frome theyr opynion. They seeme to me to haue reasoned, what peynes they shuld suffre, that haue prepared to make warre against theyr countrey, theyr parentes, the aultars and oratories. But the matter warneth vs rather to take hede & beware of them, than to consult, what we shuld decree agaynste them. Other mysdedes may be punyshed after they be done: but yf it be not loked wel to, that this yuel dede be not done, it wyl be to late to execute iustyce. The cite being got, the subdued can nothynge doo. But I requyre you by the goddis immortall saye the trouth, that you haue more estemed youre houses ut the citie, & manors in the coũtrey, your grauen images & peinted tables, thã the cõmon weale,

yf ye wyll reteyne styll these, suche as they be, delectations, that you so derely loue: yf ye woll haue tyme and space to vse your pleasures, at the last awake, and enbrace the common weale. For nowe the reasonyng is not of our tributes, nor of the wronges doone to our confederates. Our lybertie and lyfe is in daunger. I haue very often honorable fathers, spoken many thinges amonge you here, I haue ofte complayned of the crueltie and auarice of our citesyns: And for that cause I haue many men agaynste me. For I that neuer forgaue my selfe any offence, coude not lyghtely forgyue other mens myslydedes. And though ye lyttell regarded my wordes, yet was the weale publyke in good case, for the welthynes thereof supported your negligence. But nowe it is not in debatynge, after what maners, good or badde we shuld lyue, or how great or how magnificent the Romayne empire shuld be: but whether these thynges, howe so euer they be, shalbe ours alone, or enioyed together with vs of our enemies. Wyl any man in this matter ones name myldenesse and mercy? Surely we haue of late loste the true names of thynges. For, to gyue awaye other mens goodes is callyd Liberalitie, Boldenesse to do yuell dedes is callyd Fortitude, therfore the weale publyke is at the last cast. Let them for me, seing the maner and fascion is so, be lyberall of other mens goodes, let them be merciful to stealers of the common treasure: so that they gyue not to them our bludde, and sparyng a fewe lewde & naught, they vndo all that be good and honest. C. Cesar while eare reasoned wel and substancially before you of lyfe and deathe, supposynge I beleue, that those thynges be false, whiche are reported of hel, that the yuel doers

are

are fondred away from the good, dwellynge in places obscure, vile, stynkyng, vncleane, & fearefull. And so he iudged, that they goodes shuld be forfayted, and they them selues to be kept in warde in diuers townes, festeryng iwys, lest if they were styll in Rome, they shulde by stronge hande be set agayne at lybertie, eyther by the fauorers of the conspiracy, orels by the multitude of hopelostes, hyred therunto: As though naughty & vngratious persons were only in Rome, & not throughout all Italy: or as though braynsicke boldnes coude not more preuaile ther, where as is lesse power to make defence. Wherfore this counsayle is surely of none effecte, if he stande in drede of them: but if he alone in so great feare to all men, is not afrayde: so moche the more it behoueth me to be fearefull bothe for my selfe and you. Therfore whan ye gyue iudgement agaynste P. Lentulus and other that be taken: know for a surertie, that ye gyue iudgement agaynst Catiline, his armye, and all the conspiratours. And the more diligence ye vse in this matter, the lesse courage shall they haue. If they may perceyue, that you wax faynt harted: they all full fierce wyll soone be here. Thynke not, that our forefathers haue of a very lyttel, made a great cõmon weale by feates of armes: if it so were, we shuld haue it farre more goodly. For our abundance of confederate frendes, citesyns, armour, and horses, is greatter than euer our auncetours had. But there were other thynges that made them mighty, whiche we want: At home they were studyous and dilygente, in their dealynge with strangers, iuste and trewe, in consultation their myndes were free from all affections, they neglected not their duetie, nor inclyned to bodilye luste. In-

stede of these vertues we haue prodigall expence and couetousnes, the cõmunaltie pooze, and many priuatly ryche and welthy: We preyse ryches, and folowe sleuth and ydelnesse. There is no difference betwene the good men and the badde: Ambition hath al the rewardes of vertue. And no meruell, syth eche of you seketh for his owne priuate cõmodite: syth ye at home giue your selfes to voluptties and pleasures, and here in the senate study howe to wynne money and frendshyp. Wherby the weale publyke, voyde, exhauste, and deserte, is inuaded. But I let passe these matters. Noble cytesins haue conspired to burne theyr countrey, they haue styred vp the Frenchemen, moste greuous ennemyes to Romaynes, vnto warre. The capitayn Catilyne with his army is in our neckes. Ye make delaye, yea in soo weyghty a busynes, and stand in doubt, what ye shuld do with our enmies taken within the walles. I thynke good, ye take pitie on them, they beinge ponge menne through ambition haue done amisse, gyue them leaue, yea beinge armed, to departe away. I feare, leste this mildenes and mercy, if they begyn to arme them, wyll turne vs to great misery. It is eth to know, how sharp and greuous a conspiracy is, but ye feare it not, yes yowys do you, and that very sooze, but throughe negligence & faynt courage ye dryue forth the tyme, one lokyng what an other wyl do, as it were truschynge to the goddis immortal, which ful oft haue saued this weale publike, in most greatest peryls. The aide and helpe of the goddis is not gotten with bowes and womanlye prayers: but by watchfull diligence, well doing & good counsailynge, all thinges done prospere. Whan a man gyueth him selfe to sluggishnes and discourage, he shal

call

call vpon the goddis in vaine: for they be displeased & greued with suche one. In olde tyme, in the warres of France, T. Manlius Torquatus, cõmanded his owne son to be put to deth, because he fought with his enmy, contrary to his imperial cõmandmẽt. And so he ỹ noble yong mã, fuil derely bought with deth his exceding mã ly enterprise: & ye stand musing, what you shuld determin ageinst most cruel traitors to their coũtrey. Verily their good liuing in times past letteth this mischiuous dede to be punished. But spare you Lentulus dignitie, if he euer spared to lyue filthily, if he euer cared for his good name and fame, if he euer regarded god or man. Forgiue Cethegus youth, if this be not the secõde time that he maketh warre againſt his countrey. For what shuld I speake of Gabinius, Statilius, Ceparius? yf they had ben men of any cõsideration, they wold neuer haue take such coũcellinges againſt the cõmon weale. Finally, if this offence, honorable fathers, were not intollerable, so god help me, I coude be cõtent ye were punyshed by this yuel chance, because ye regard not good monition. but we ar beset rounde about, Catiline with his army standeth gaping to deuoure Italy, other our ennemies ar within the walles, in the very hart of the citie, neither can we make any prouision or take coũcel secretly: wherfore it behoueth vs to vse the more celerite and spede. Therfore my mynd is, seing the cõmon weale, through the cursed counsell of mischiefull eyte-lyns, is brought into so great daunger, and seing they by the detection of Vulturtius, and the Frenche ambassadours are conuycted, and haue confessed, that they intẽded to murder and burne, and to do other cursed and cruel dedes to theyr owne citisins and coũtrey.

that suche as haue aknowleged they? treson, we shulde after the maner of our fo?fathers, put vnto death.

¶ The contention of L. Cesar, and M. Cato in the Senate, and of the foue letters sent to Cesar. Cap. xliii.

WHAN Cato was set downe, well nere all the Senatours, one calling an other fearfull, app?oued his sentence, they most highly extolled his valyant courage, his constancy, and manly harte. Fynally they decreed acco?dynge to Catos sentence. But Cesar fo? all that styll withstode it, so longe vntyll a great bande of the gentylmen of Rome, whiche al armed stode about the temple of Concо?de, fo? safegarde and defence of the Senate, came with they? swo?des d?awen to haue slayne hym, eyther bicause they beleued he was confederate with the cõspirato?s, fo? that he wold not haue them put to deathe: o? els being moued with the peryl that the weale publyke was in. Than Curio, as it is sayd, imb?acyng hym, and castyng his gowne bet wene them, defended hym. Farthermo?e Cicero with sharpe rebukes, feared them from sleyng of Cesar. It is also sayd, that while Cesar and Cato were in cõtention fo? the punyshment of the offenders, there chanced a thing not very honest to be tolde.

¶ Seruilia Catos syster fo?e wounded with the loue of Cesar, delyuered certayn letters, louyngly written, to an vndiscrete man, to beare vnto hym: which whan he came to Cesars house, and was info?med by the po?ter, that Cesar was in the senate, streyght waye this rude felowe came into the Senate, and delyuered the letters to Cesar. Whiche whan Cato sawe, he began to

say

say with a lowde voyce, these ar the conspiratours letters, and wold in any wyse that they shoulde be openly redde. Than Cesar dredynge lest they shulde be openly redde, toke theym vnto Cato. Whyche whan Cato had red, he threwe them agayne to Cesar, and in the senate callyd hym Dzunkarde, that naturally was very sobre. This is the propertie of loue and suche delectations, that oftentymes they cause a man most noble, to fyle hym selfe with some blotte of fylthynes or shame.

¶ L. Vectius accuseth C. Cesar as culpable of the conspiracye, Cesar clereth and reuengeth hym selfe. Cap. xliii.

BVT SONE after happened a thynge that more troubled Cesars mynde. For L. Vectius accused hym before Nouius the Questor, as culpable of the conspiracy, and M. Curius broughte hym in great hatred, bycause he named hym in the Senate a part taker with the conspiratours. Vectius prompsed to bryng forth Catilyns owne handewrityng: Curius sayd, he knew it by Catilyne. Cesar takyng greuously, that he shulde be spotted with soo shamefull a blotte, came into the Senate to purge hym selfe. But the Senate syttyng longer than was accustomed, an excedynge multitude of the common people, ranne thyther in greate haste. For the troublous people, which demed that the Senate wold decree some greuous thyng agaynst Cesar, inflamed with his loue and sturred with his peryll, begamne to make a greate shout, and seditiously required the Senate to let Cesar go. M. Cato, to withdraw from Cesar all occasion of sedition, perswaded the Senate to diuyde amonge

the

the cõmon people of Rome great quantitie of wheate, by which liberalitie, the hartis of the pooze cõminaltie were meruelously reconciled to Cato and the Senate. Foz the cõmons hate nigardes, they fauour the plentifull and liberall, they loue largesse, they are ledde with great feastes, moued with plays, and bowed with giftes. And with gyftes mens myndes are blynded.

¶ After this, Cesar made an ozation, in which ozation he declared, not only that he was none of the conspiratours, but also that he had opened to the consul certain thinges of the cõspiracy. And whã he had lamentably desyzed Cicero to wytnesse the same, Cicero clered hym from all suspition. Thus dyd the consul, either bicause he knew nothing certainly to charge Cesar with, ozels bicause he thought it best to wynke at the mattier. Foz though Cesar and Crassus myght bothe haue ben manifestly conuicted, yet coude they not haue bene punyshed, seynge the tone of theym was surely fenced with exceadynge greatte rychesse, the tother with fauour of the people.

¶ But afterward Cesar vehemently inueyed ageinst L. Vectius, whan he hadde in his ozation tozne hym with moste sharpe wozdes, spoylyng hym of his housholde stouffe, and taking pledges and sureties, he greuously punyshed him: and he caste Nouius the Questoz in pzison, bycause he suffred the Pzetoz (aboue him in auctozitie) to plede befoze hym. Foz the higher officers maye not be commaunded of theyz inferiours oz equalles. Caesar not being content herewith, bzought to passe, that to Curius shoulde not be gyuen the rewardes, whyche vnto hym, bycause he fyrste detected the conspyracye, were decreed in mooste ample wyse.

But

But to retourne ageyne, where I lefte, whan I nedefully spake of Caesar.

The execution done on Lentulus and his fellowes. Cap. xlv.

It was than the fyft day of Decembre and drewe toward euenyng, after long consultation had in the senate, at lēgth they decreed, as is afore sayd, according to Catos sentence, that execution shuld be done on them that were found gilty. Wherfore the consul thought best, to preuent the night that was at hande, leste in the meane space, some myschefull and cursed parte myght be played by those that thought by force and violence to delyuer and set them at large. Out of the senate howse he came accompanied with all the Senatours, the knyghtes of Rome, and the yonge men of noble blouddc armed. And from thense he went to theyr houses, that hadde the custody of them that were caste. Fyrste he brought Lentulus, that was in the keeppynge of Lentulus Spynther, frome the Palayce, by the waye callyd Sacra uia, and throughe the myddes of the markette place, vnto the pryson, and delyuered hym to the executioner, commaundynge, that he forthewith shoulde strangle hym with an halter. But to the ende there shoulde be noo sedytion, the Consulle sette the forsayde knyghtes of Rome, with theyr tergates and swerdes drawen, in the pytche of the hyll Capytolyne: The same execution was done on Statilius, Cethegus, Gabinius, and Ceparius. For they beinge brought to the pryson by the Pretours, were all strangled. After they were all putte to deathe, the Consull to debylitate and cutte

cutte aſunder theyr endeuoir and hope, whiche prepared in the nyght to do some feate, tourned about to the multitude, and sayd with a loude voyce, that al myght here hym, They were alyue, sygnifienge by that lyghte sayeng, they were dead. Whan he had sayde these wordes, nyght was come.

¶ After the conspiratours were deade, the people with great glory brought Cicero home to his house. Cap. xlvi.



Than the cõsul takyng his way homeward was accõpanied with a meruaylous multitude of people, most ioyfully thankynge hym, what way so euer he wente, through all the stretes of the citie, laumpes, linkes, torches, and cressettes, burned bryght, the wyndowes and doores were all full of men and women: they callid Cicero the defender of the cite, the preseruer of their lybertie, the father of the countrey, that they were citisẽs, that they were free, that they lived, was al through his wisedome, policie, and dilygence. This great company and pompe honoured hym home to his house. I omytte here the great ioy and gladnes that was made afterwarde through all Italy, I passe ouer the moste excellent and moste honourable preyses of other good townes and cities. I speake not of the great thankes that all good men thã gaue vnto M. Tullius. L. Flaccus, and C. Pyomptinius. ¶ In the meane whyle Cicero commaunded P. Sestius, countremanded by letters from Capua, with the army that he than had with hym, and with all spede to haste hym after Antonius. These thynges done, the [illegible], whiche before trembled for drede, was now delyuerd from feare, & the remnant

of

of the conspiracy, that was so hotte and hastye, began to waxe colde and slowe. And Cicero in his gowne got an excedyng and an immortall glory, foldyd vp in the envy and yuell wylle of many men. For all the ponge men, gyuen to bodily lust and wantonnesse, and al such as were dishonest and naught, he made his foes. The whiche dyd hate Cicero not onely bycause he repressed theyr horryble violence and cursed enterprises, but also bycause they thought as longe as he lyued, they shuld neuer bryngе suche a thyng to passe ageyne. And so very many, amonge the whiche was also C. Cesar, but namely L. Bestia, and Q. Metellus Nepos, beganne to reprehende, tosse, and detracte the actes and dedes that Cicero had done.

¶ Ciceros othe in the ende of his consulshyp. Cap. xlvii.

Wherfore whan Cicero the laste day of December, leauyng vp his consulshyp, wolde as the maner was, haue declared in an oration, what actes he had doone in his office. Q. Metellus protectour of the cõmynaltie, forbode and wold not suffre hym to speake, saying, It was ryght vnsemely, to giue him leue to speke, that had done punishment on other, the cause not herd or knowen. Which thyng was to Cicero more honorable, thã if he had suffred hym to make his oration. For whã Metellus permytted, that he shuld onely make an othe, Cicero sware, that by his labour and diligence alone, the weale publike and the citie was saued. Whiche othe so large and so greate, all the people of Rome, with one voyce and one consente sware, that he hadde sworne trewely.

¶ The contention betwene Cicero & Q. Metellus Nepos. Ca. xxiii.

THis his glory, the peple of Rome did augmēt with an other glory. For the selfsame daye, the people in moste honorable wyse, with greattest ioy and gladnes, & as thyck as they coulde go in the stretes, broughte hym from the market place home to his house. But yet the fyrst day of Januarye he with so manly a courage spake of the cōmon weale, that euery man myght well perceyue, that the actes which he dyd in his consulship were done by his wysedome, prudence, and policy, and not by chaunce. And Q. Metellus disputing with him of the cōmon weale, he quayled in the Senate with an oration all full of grauitie: and Cicero boldly shewed hym, that he shuld haue to do with a man that wāteth no stomake, or that is to seke in any thyng that he shal say. Wherby his aduersaries were the more kendled ageynst hym: bycause they sawe him chiefe in the senate, they fled al to the cōmons. Than Metellus, associate & ayded with C. Cesar, desired of the people, that Pompeius with his army, myght be countermanded home, to subdue Catiline: and to cōmit the cōmon weale vnto him, that he shuld se that it toke none harm. Their wordes were, that Pompeius shuld be coūtremāded home to subdue Catilin: but in very dede they? pretense was, that the cōmon weale shuld come to the rule and gouernance of Pompei: and by that mean the auctoritie consular of M. Tullius, and the power of the Senators myghte be fordoone: and in processe the glorye of soo great a man, for preseruing of the cōmon weale, might be dymynyshed.

M. Cato

M. Catoe requeſt to Metellus. Cap. xliij.

VVhan this curſed publication was ſpoken in the ſenate, M. Cato roſe vp, and with many wordes deſyred Metellus for his conſtancy, trouth, and honorable eſtate, to deſyſte from that purpoſe: beſechynge hym for his dead fathers ſake, for that Metellus Numidius ſake, the which wolde rather be dryuen oute of the citie, than to be forſworne: and for al the Metellus thoſe moſt noble citiſēs ſakes, which alway withſtode ſeditious perſones, whyche euermore in al thinges folowed the auctoryte of the ſenate, and conſent of good mē. And he declared, that it neded not, that Pompeius ſhoulde be countermaunded home with his army. For ſoo moche as C. Antonius hadde a greatte hoſte, and M. Metellus Celer, his brother, hadde prepared a ſtronge power agaynſt Catilyne. And theyr enemyes at home beynge ſubdewed (of whome was moſte nede to beware) the conſpyracy was ſoo enfeblyd and weaked, that the common weale coude not be hurt or indomaged by the unfortunate ſworder Catilyne.

The contention of Cato and Metellus. Cap. l.

BVt whan the equytie of his oration, nor the authorite of M. Cato coulde moue Metellus, and whanne the other Senatoures, neyther by intreatynge nor monyſſhynge coulde inclyne hym, but that he thretenyd to doo all thynges by force of armes: Cato eſteſoones turnyng his tale, ſhamefully rebuked hym, and with an oration

all full of grauitie, with commendation and approbation of the hole Senate, he accused hym as gyltie, and finally he said, he wold neuer while he liued suffre, that Pompeius with his army shulde retourne home to the citie. But whan the day of Rogation was come, and that Metellus and Cesar being Pretor, had the nyght before furnyshed the temple of Castor with men of armes, good men beganne greatly to mystruste, leste the law shuld passe. For armed men kept the market place and other places of assemblees. And the common people of the citie, alway desyrous to se nouelties, fauored Metellus in publyshyng the lawe. And therfore verye many councelled Cato to beware and take good hede to hym selfe. But he beinge endewed with an incredible and straunge manlynesse of stomake, grauitie, and fortitude, which (thought hym self borne for his countreys sake, and not for his owne) wold rather put him selfe in ieoperdy, than not to succour the cõmon weale, being at the poynt to perishe. And so early in the morning, not only without any power & strengthe of men, but also with a fewe of his frendes, he descended into the market place, all men so fearyng that he shulde not escape with his lyfe, that the teares ranne downe the chekes of some of Catos nere frendes. And neither the contynualle weepynge of his wyfe, nor the mournynge garmentes, nor the teares of his systers, and incredible sorowe and heuynes of his frendes, coulde kepe hym at home. So than Cato beinge allonely accompanied with Munatius Thermus, his felowe in office (for all other that came with hym were put backe by those that kepte the entrie of the temple) came into the temple. Metellus satte in the place, where matters

were

were publyshed or declared to the people, and nexte to Metellus, Cesar: than Cato interrupte theyr cõmunication, sate hym downe in the myddes betwene theym bothe, many beinge therof excedyng ioyfull, and moch wondering at his most manly mynd. Catos dede was than very notable, & his felowes Thermus acte ryght noble. For Cato prohibitynge Metellus secretarye to rede the rogation: Metellus hym selfe taking it in his owne handes began to rede. But Cato by and by toke the law out of his handes. And whan Metellus wold haue recited the lawe without wrytynge (for he coulde it by hart) Thermus laying his hand vpon his mouth wolde not suffre hym to speke. Metellus takyng this greuously, and a token being giuẽ, his swerders made a great shoute, and beganne to make an assaute. With this sodayn fray, all the multitude of people, greately complaynyng, voyded out of the market place. Cato throwen out of the publication place, and wel nere left alone in the market, styll fyghtyng and striuynge with his voyce and crienge, and many sekynge to slee hym with stones and other weapons, was by the aide of L. Murena the consull saued. Than Metellus thynking that he had ouercome Cato, commaunded theym that were harneysed to auoyde, and tournyng agayn to the place of publication began to declare the lawe. But they that before were fledde awaye, chaungynge theyr myndes came agayne and with greate clamour, vyle wordes, and murmuration cried out on Metellus, and with ioyfull countenaunce fauoured Cato retourning agayn to his place. Wherfore Metellus, beinge sore troubled and abashed, he and his departed out of the market place. But Cato after he had in a long oration

preised the great loue and zele that the people of Rome bare him, and had exhorted them to resyst the law, that pretended so moch the destruction of the cõmon weale, and sturrynge vp of a ciuile warre, with meruaylouse reioysynge of the people, and with greate glorye gatte hym home.

¶ M. Metellus and C. Cesar ar remoued from theyr offices. Capitulo. li.

After whan they had longe debated in the Senate house touchynge the skyrmysshe that Metellus men of armes made, of the castinge of stones, and of the feare and flyght of good men, and that men hadde sharpely spoken ageinst Cesar, and reprochfully rebuked Metellus: the senate decreed, that Metellus shuld leaue vp his trybuneshyp, and Cesar his pretorshyp, and bothe shuld absteyne from ministration of the cõmon weale. Nor the Senate beinge content with this maner punyshement, and purposyng to put Metellus to open shame, M. Cato wold in no wyse agree therto, & dissuaded the senate that they shuld not do it. Than was his mekenes preysed of the people of Rome, and his counsayle allowed, bycause those thynges whyche he dyd, and whiche he toke vpon hym, he dyd them not for the hatred that he bare to any man, but for the loue that he had to the common weale.

¶ So Metellus beinge depriued from mynistration of the cõmon weale, and forsaken of the people: He purposed to take his iourney into Asia, as thoughe he wolde go and informe Pompeius of al these matters. But ere he went he made certayn orations, in the whyche

che he ſpake very repzochefully agaynſte the Senate, he ſayde: He coulde not ſuffre Cicero to reygne lyke a kynge, noz the tyzanny of Cato: & that the tyme ſhuld come, that the people of Rome ſhuld ſoze repent them, that they had done ſo many iniuries to the moſte noble man Pompeius. But afterwarde Pompeius was not onely contented and pleaſed with Cato, and M. Tullius, but alſo gaue eche of them high thankes. Yea (as Cicero in ſecunda Philippica, and. i. lib. officiozū ſaith) as ſoone as Pompeius departyng out of Syzia, ſawe Cicero, imbzacyng and thankyng hym, ſayd in the pzeſence of many that were by: He ſhould in vayne haue gotten his thyzde triumphe, if that thzoughe Ciceros benefyte to the common weale, he had not had a place to tryumphe in. And afterwarde it is ſayde, he ſhulde ſay in a certayne ozation, that the cōmon weale ought of right to gyue great thankes to the towne Arpinas, foz from thens came two defenders, C. Marius, and M. Cicero, of the whiche two, the tone delyuered the common weale from domeſticall peryl, and the tother from outward daunger.

### Ceſar with commendation is reſtozyd to his office. Capitulo. xii.



And nowe I wyl returne ageyne to Ceſar, whyche contempnynge the mooſte graue decree of the Senate, and contynuynge ſtylle in his office, the Senate gaue in commaundemente to certayne, to pzohybite hym par foze. Thā Ceſar changyng his apparel, and layng away the oznamentes of pzetozſhip, heuily ſhutte hym ſelfe in his houſe

houſe, gyuynge place to tyme. Upon a two dayes after whan this thing was knowen, an huge multitude gathered vnto Ceſar, and ſeditiouſely offered their endeuoir, to reſtore hym agayne to his dignitie. Ceſar pretſynge and approuyng their louynge affection, with an oration, wherin he was greately renoumed) appeaſed the cõmons, that were excedingly amoued agaynſt the Senatours. Whiche Modeſtie or temperance ſo moch pleaſed the ſenate (whoſe intention was alway either with drede or with peyne to feare men frome leude and naughtye attemptates, or with rewardes, to allure men to good dedes) that by the chiefeſt of the citie they gaue hygh thankes vnto Ceſar, and callynge hym to the court, and reſtorynge hym to his pretorſhyp, they magnified hym with moſt ample preyſes.

## ¶ Catilynes armye, his laboure, and iourneye towarde Fraunce. Capitulo. xii.

PUrpoſyng to ſpeke many thinges, Catilyne, frõ whom we ar now far digreſſed, calleth me backe ageyne to hym. Which while thoſe thinges were geſted and done at Rome, had nowe (as ſome report) gathered togyther about twenty thouſande men. But I ſuppoſe he had aſſembled together a greatter noumbre of cruell captyues. But of all theſe there was not paſte the fourthe parte arrayed and inſtructed lyke men of warre. the other hadde not armour warrelyke, but ſuche as men vſe to beare, iorneyinge by the waye.

¶ with this multitude he Catilyne iournayed vppon the ſharpe mountaynes: oftentymes he remoued his

army,

army. and the same most stongely dyd fortifye about with a trenche and a bulwarke: sometyme he made towarde the citie, sometyme towarde Fraunce: nowe he besegeth these mountayns, within a whyle after he passeth ouer those hylles: nowe on horsebacke, nowe on foote. Also he caused dyligent watches to be kept, and he hym selfe wolde be the fyrst, that shulde go about it: he wolde be among them in theyr labours, and in their battayles, he wolde benygnely calle, admonysshe, and exhorte his souldyours, he wold very oft take his rest and lye vpon the grounde, to thentent that other shuld the more wyllyngly endure labour and trauayle. Fynally he wold neuer gyue battayle to Antony: bycause that he, in prolonging of the tyme, might augment his army with the great multitude of hopelostes, robbers, and theues, that dayly drewe to him from all partes of Italy: whiche trustyng to spoyle and robbe, and couetynge warre, had gyuen ouer theyr husbandry, & dayly wynnyng. And also bycause Catiline thought it more surer to abyde tyll the tyme his felowes at Rome had atcheued theyr enterprises, and rather to draw toward the citie, than to assay the hasard of batayle. And as he now hasted with al his power to inuade his countrey, a messanger came and told to hym, how the conspiracy was openly knowen at Rome, and that they (of whom we spake before) were putte to deathe. Than Catiline being sore troubled with these tydinges, alteryng his counsayle, lefte the citie, and toke his iourney towarde France transalpine, hoppyng that the nation of French men, bytter ennemies to the Romayns, and alwaye gyuen to newefanglenes, wolde soone be induced to take theyr partes in this warre. He thought to bryng out-

ward nations armed to the citie. and to make a mighty strong army of men. He had the better hope, because the Delphinoys, whiche are the nexest borderers vnto Italy, were by certayn of the conspiratoys, with great promyses, alredy inticed, and the frenche men willyngly harkened vnto them.

## Catilyne inclosed betwene two armyes, determyned to fyght. Capitulo. liii.

But M. Metellus the pretoy (whiche led an army of .iii. legions in the countrey of Picene) beinge enfourmed by them that fledde to hym, what way Catilyne toke, spedylye dislodged, and pytched vnder the very fote of the mountayne with his thre legions, by the which way Catilyne purposed to passe into Fraunce, and with a great numbre of horsemen, and lyght harneysed, he laye priuily in awayte in places mete and conuenient. Whyche thynge whan Catilyne, beinge entred into the countrey of Pistoria, knewe, he determyned for many causes to make no longer delay, but as soone as euer he could, to giue battayle to Antonius. Of all which this was the most speciall cause, for that he sawe before hym his ennemye Metellus, with thre legiõs, redy to encoũter with him: and Antonius at his backe with a great hoste, whiche dyd pursue hym in his flyght: on euery syde were the mountayns, which dyd let, that he coude not saue hymselfe by flyght, and therfore he thought it was no maistry for his ennmies, stoppyng the ways, that no vitayles shuld come to hym: to opteyn the byctory without any stroke strikyng, if he shuld abide tyl the two hostis had

had inclosed hym betwene them. Also he feared, lest by longe delayeng, his army wolde slyppe from hym. For many fledde from hym, whan tydynges came, that the matter went yll on theyr syde at Rome: and many hastynge to come to hym, retourned backe home ageyne. And also bycause the numbre of his ennemies dayely encreased. Also the nede of corne sooze greued hym. for the ways being stopt, with great peyn any vitayles coude be brought to hym. Than Catilyn, all these thinges consydered, & seing he had no hope (eyther to scape by flight, or that any succours shuld come to hym) but onely in battayle, determined to assay fortune, and to proue the vttermoste ayde. Wherfore assemblynge his counsayle togyther, and callyng to the same counsayle souldiours of all sortes and degrees, he made to them an oration, the which though it be fond in Salust, yet bycause it can not be so properly Salustis as Catilins, I haue therfore vnderwriten here the copy therof. For Justinus wryteth, that Pompeius Trogus, the great wryter of hystories, reproueth Liuius and Salust, by cause that they in many places of theyr bokes, putte other mens orations for theyr owne. And so vndoutedly the orations that Salust hath plated in the conspiracy of Catilin, vnder the person of Cesar & Cato, being at altercation togyther touching the peyn & punishment of the conspirators (whiche we haue folwed to this out worke) were euery worde Cesars & Catos, Plutarchus sayth it: which writeth in the lyfe of Cato, that M. Cicero appoynted certayne wryters in the Senate, whyche by theyr celerytie and spedynesse in wrytyng, shuld moste easily regester the sentences of the Senatours: and by that meane the same oration of Cato was kept.

But whether this oration folowyng, were Saluſtes. (as I beleue it was) orels Catilyns, I for certayn conſyderations, wolde rather haue it put here, than myne owne. Nowe than let vs here Catilyne exhortyng his ſouldiours to battayle.

¶ The oration of Catilyne to his ſouldiours, in whiche he exhorteth them to fyght manfully. Cap. xv.



Know very wel good ſouldiours, that wordes can not make mē courageous, nor a cowarde and a feareful army, can not be made ſtronge and valiant by the capitaynes oration: but loke what audacitie euery man hath by nature or cuſtome, ſuche is it wonte to appere in battayle. For in vayne thou ſhalt exhort hym, whom neyther glory nor peryll can encourage, feare of the mynde annoyeth the herynge. But I haue calde you together, to declare vnto you a fewe thynges, and alſo to breake and open my mynde vnto you. Ye know my ſouldiours, to what affliction and myſchief the feynt courage and cowardiſe of Lentulus, hath brought hym ſelf and vs: and how that I, tarieng for ſuccours to come from the citie, can not nowe paſſe into Fraunce. Nowe you all perceyue as well as I, in what caſe we ſtande. Oure ennemyes haue two hoſtes, the tone wyll not ſuffre vs to drawe to the citie, the tother doth let vs to entre into France, to tary longer in theſe places, thoughe we wolde neuer ſo fayne, nede and lacke of vytayle and other thynges wyl not ſuffre vs: whither ſo euer it pleaſeth you to go, the way muſt be opened with your wepons. Wherfore I warne you, be of good courage, and whan ye ſhall

fyght

fyght, remembre, that yf ye fyght manfully, you shall wynne with your handes not onely ryches, glorye, and worshyp, but also libertie and your countrey. If we ouercome, all thynges shal surely be ours, we shal haue abundance of vitayles, cities and townes alyed to the Romayns, shalbe opened vnto vs. If feare make vs to shrynke, the selfe same thynges shalbe agaynst vs: for neyther place, nor frende shall succour hym, whom his armour coulde not defend. Furthermore my souldiors, theyr necessitie and ours is not lyke: we fyght for our countrey, for our lybertie, and our lyues, it is no nede for them to fyght, that a fewe may be myghty & strōg. Wherfore set vpon them the more boldly, remembring what noble actes ye haue done in tymes past. Ye might haue ledde forth your lyues in exile with greate shame and reproche: and some of you, hauyng none your selues, myght haue gaped longe inough at Rome vppon the goodes and ryches of other: But bicause that facion semed vnto you, beinge men, shamefull and intollerable: ye determyned to take this way. If ye wyl relynquysche those thynges, it behoueth you to be bolde. For no man, excepte a conquerour, changeth warre for peace. For to hope to saue your selfe by flyghte (whan ye tourne your backes, or throwe away your armoure, wherewith your bodyes are defended) that is a verye madnesse. For euermore in batayle they are in greatest peryll, that be moost fearefull. Boldenesse is in stede of a stronge wall. Whan I consyder you my souldyours, and whan I ponder your dedes, a greatte hope of victory enbraceth me: your lusty stomackes, your youthe, your strengthe encourageth me: farther, our extreme nede, the whyche maketh the fearefull stronge

and hardy. The multitude of our ennmies can not compasse vs about, the straytnes of the place wyll not sufker them. But in case that Foztune wol not fauoz youz valyant dedes, take hede that ye dye not vnreuenged, oz be taken & murdzed as beastis, but rather fightyng like men, leaue to ouz ennemies a blouddy and lamentable victozy.

## ¶ Howe Catilyne ozdered his battayles. Cap. VI.

When he had sayd these wozdes, he ledde out of their lodgingis al his army, and fyzst he couered his owne hozse, and after al the other mẽs hozses out of sight, to thende the souldyours beinge euery man in egall daunger, shulde with the better stomacke entre into battayle, and also that noo man shoulde hope to saue hym selfe by flyghte. This done, he ozdzed his batayl on this wise. In the vaward he ozdeyned. viii. cohoztes, and among them he apoynted the best of the petycaptayns, and of the cõmon souldiours suche as were best harneysed. In the myddelle batayle were Syllas souldiours, whiche though they were but a fewe, yet foz their valiantnesse, Catilin had great hope by them to get the victozye. Those, whose dede in battayle he lyttell trusted, which eyther foz lack of knowlege in warfare, oz that were but yl harneysed, he sette a parte, as it were to ayde the other battayles, and to make a shewe and a bzagge of fyghting men, to the dzede of their ennemies. But to be capitayne in the lefte wynge he appoynted a certayne Fesulane, in the eyght wyng C. Manlius hym selfe stode in the myddel battayle nexte to the standerde, the Egle, whyche he

thought

thought predestinate to distroy the cõmon weale. Whã Catiline had thus ordred his batayles, he went forth a lyttel from his campe, that if Antonius wold fyght, he myght haue opportunytie. Whiche thynge whan Antonius army behelde, they sayde aloude, In occasion soo good for the atcheuyng of theyr busynes, shulde not be omitted, it was tyme to set vpon thẽ. But C. Antonius not withstanding he estemed him selfe a great deale to strong for his enmies, bothe for the multitude of his, & fewnes of theirs, & for the ancient glory won in warre, yet he wold not cõtende in batayle, ouermoche dredyng the cõmon hasarde, and vncertayne chances of warre. ¶ Thus Antonius doubtyng and resystyng their desyre, and sayinge aloude, it pleased hym not to fyght: sodaynly his treasouret, P. Sestius, a valyant man, beganne to intreate and pray hym, that he shuld haue no doubte to gyue battayle: and otherwhyle he accused hym, that by delayeng he wold lette slyppe so good and so great opportunitie. The goddis immortall (sayd he) do synifye to vs the victorye. For lyke as we alwayes desyred our souldiours alredye encouraged to fyght, hereafter we shall not haue no suche occasyon. For if Catilyne maye gette into Fraunce, we shall not wynne the victorye without great effusion of bloudde, and destruction of all Italy. With many lyke persuasions, at the last he broughte Antonius in the mynde, that he wold gyue battaile to Catiline. Wherfore Antonius, commyttynge the armye to M. Petreius (a tyght noble and valiant man, and in hygh authoryte amonge the souldiours, and wonderfullye experte in chyualrye) hym selfe, bycause he was syckelye, abode styll in his tent. Than M. Petreius bryngyng

the armye out of their Campe, although he sawe them desyrous to fyght, yet he iudged it for the best to exhort them, he callyd theym togyther, and with these wordes stomacked them.

¶ The oration of M. Petreius to the souldiours. Cap. xii.

ALthough I perceyued, good souldiours, that in this cause it was noo nede to exhort you to do laudably: for why there is no man so ignorant of thynges, or so folysshe, whiche vnderstandeth not, that yf Catilyne shulde at this tyme (whiche god forbyd) ouercome vs, we shulde endure not onely a cruell & proude domination, but also an infamous, and full of all myschiefe, nor shulde dare refuse any maner of sharpe punyshement. you knowe Catilyns crueltie: you know, there is nothyng in hym but brayneyke boldnes, pryde, sensualitie, viciousnesse, and selfe wyll. you knowe his frendes, ye knowe all his kynrede, and that vniuersally they are dycers, dronkardes, murderers of theyr parentes, and of all other moste mischefull. He promised to gyue the citie to his theues to spoyle, and nowe they appoynt out and dyuide amonge them selfes, our goodes, manours, and houses. Nor they do not onely desyre our goodes, but also being angry, they couet our bloudde. There is no pastyme more pleasant to them, than effusion of bloudde, than hangyng, beatyng, and to see the citesyns tourmented before theyr faces. And they that for theyr solace, were wonte to dryncke mens bloudde: whose bloudde trowe ye nowe in soo greatte thyrste and hatred of good menne, wolle they spare to spylle? Therfore he that wyll not be sturred with these soo

so horryble and cruell dedes: what mans oration can any thynge do or preuayle with hym? yet worthy souldyours, I woll doo as good maryners are wont, whiche though the chyppe haupnge wynde at wyll, sayleth swyftly, yet for the more spede they row w they? oores: And as good horsemen do, whiche though they se their horses gallop lustily, yet they with voyce and spurres courage them. so likewise I exhort you being kendled, and with those thynges vehemently sturred to defende your lybertie, and (as it is sayde) pricke you forwardes that rounne all redye. Wherfore I beseche you, diligentely, take hede what I shall saye, and prynte my wordes well in your myndes. The matter nowe good souldiours, that we haue in hande, is not howe large or howe magnifycent the Romayne boundes shall be: but howe we shall this daye with our swerdes maynteyne and defende those thynges, that our forefathers by they? manyfolde labours, victories, and in manye yeres space conquered and got. Ye shal not nowe fight for glorye, for trybutes, or to reuenge iniuryes done to our frendes (for whyche the Romayne armye is alwaye wonte to entre in to battayle) but for your common weale, for the temples of the goddis immortall, for all your goodes, for your aultars and oratories, for the lyues of your wyues and chyldern, for your libertie, and fynallye for the healthe of all the worlde. we muste contende with an horrible and a cruel beast, whyche bycause he is fallen into the dyche, lette hym be ouerwhelmed. Behynde, afore, and on euerye syde he is harde holde, oppressed, and greued. If he escape our handes, this cruell pestylence shall sodeynly flye into the fieldes aboute the subburbes, than shall oure

fieldes be wasted and distroyed, our manours robbed and spoyled, the goodly edifyces of the citie bourned, the honeste wyues and noble mennes chylderne shall be taken awaye, and delyuered to the souldyours. In the senate shall be feare. in the markette place conspyracye. in the fielde an armye: but in euerye other seate and place, the swoyde and fyre shall beare the rule. If the common weale dydde euer lamentablye desyre the prowesse, helpe, and fortitude of her souldiours, at this tyme I saye, she requyreth it: whyche beinge besieged with fyre and weapons of this wycked conspyracye, sheweth her selfe, and in maner speaketh thus to you.

¶ I haue endured many thynges, the which in a citie of freedome were not to be suffered. For what tyme, what day, or what night hath there ben, in which those caytiues haue not wrought me some myscheuous displeasure? What murther hath ben doone these many yeres without theym? What vngratious or abhominable dede without them? And though these thynges aforesayde were intollerable, yet (as I coulde) I bare theym. But nowe who can endure, that I all togither for this one mans sake, shoulde stande in drede and in mooste greattest daunger? Wherfore moste valiaunt souldiours, I beseche and praye you, suffre not that I being deliuered by diuine counsel, and the consuls prudence, from the snares and deceptes of Lentulus and other inward enemies, be oppressed by the cursed theft of this man. Moreouer I cõmende vnto you the castel and capitoll, the walles of the citie, your auters, the sepulcres of your forefathers, the lawes, customes, libertie, your forfathers contended in battayle not onely to

be out of bondage, but also to rule and cõmande. And than what ought you to do, to escape the horryble and moste cruell dominion of this vncleane theue? Wherefore moste valyaunt souldyours, seynge the matter is brought to so great a iopardy, eyther ye must this day reteyne styll by feate of armes, the proper lybertie of the Romaynes, and of your name, or elles ye must preferre deathe aboue bondage. For they, these cruell doers, whiche victoriously ye shall vanquysshe, shall also for theyr parentes sleing be punysshed in helle. But yf any of you happe to be slayn in the battayle, ye shal opteyne and come to the place of good blessyd menne. These wordes my countrey speaketh vnto you, Nowe harken vnto me.

¶ Seynge good souldyours, that many and dyuerse kyndes of deathe hange ouer men: it semeth we ought rather to reioyce than to be sorye, yf that sorte of dethe whiche is mooste goodly (to dye for oure countreye) shoulde chaunce vnto vs: and that by our deathe the lybertie of the cytie myght be reteyned styll. For the lyfe is shorte, but the course of glorye is eternall. And seynge that euery manne muste dye, we shoulde desyre mooste specyally to dye for our countrey. For though we lyue not here bodyly, yet we shall lyue in perpetuall glorye. But nowe trewely, that that shulde be repelled by deathe, we maye eschewe without shedynge of any of our bloudde. Whiche thynge that ye maye the better vnderstande, I wyll declare to you, of what sortes of people, this noble army of Catilins is gatheryd togyther. I here saye they be conflate or gathered togyther of three kyndes of men. The fyrste kynde is of those that Sylla sente to inhabyte the

towne of Fesules. These menne, bycause they haue wasted awaye theyr owne goodes, looke that Catylyne shoulde gyue theym newe tables, and prescriptions of ryche menne. For they haue not forgotte, howe sodeynely in Syllas tyme of poore menne, they were made ryche. And not withstandynge I here saye they be good bolde menne, yet I thynke theym in no wyse to be doubted, for eyther that theyr olde strengthe is by ydelnesse or bodyly pleasure cleane quayled, or yf it remayne and contynue, they bothe in manlynesse and numbre are vnable to matche with you. The seconde kynde is of those cytesyns (yf they may be callyd citesens and not rather beastes) whyche whyle they gaped for our goodes, wasted away theyr owne. These men, ouerwhelmed with wyne, glutted with meate, and febled with aduoutry, loke to be Consulles, Pretours, or Trybunes. Amonge this sort are they, with whych Catiline being propt vp, walked stately vp and downe at Rome, whiche he wold neuer suffre to go from hym: the whyche neuer exercysed theyr youthe in rydynge, shotyng, or other good feates of armes, in watchyng, in endurynge warrelyke labour: but for those thynges they lerned to loue and to be loued, to dance, syng, to make bankettes, and to play at dice. Wherfore they are nothynge to be cared for: for they shal rather curse and wysshe vs yuell, than be able, by feate of armes to greue vs. The thyrde kynde is dyuers, myngled to gyther of many sortes of people. for in this route are all dycers, aduoutrers, swordplayers, shepardes, robbers, parentsleers, finally all vngratious knaues, and moste pestilent of all Italy. I iuge veryly all those to be gathered here togither, that now this day they may

for

for theyr mischieuous dedes receyue punyshemente dewe vnto theym many yeares agone. And of all this greatte route, scarse the fourthe parte is well harneyshed. All the other haue no targettes, helmettes, morysppkes, nor harneys: But for these thynges, they haue hedgynge bylles, lauelyns, or pyked stakes. Oh battayle very moche to be feared, whan menne vnarmed, shall fyght with armed men, foolysshe loutes with men moste polytyke, dronkardddes with sobre men, lyther luskes, with men moste stronge and hardy, sluggysshe slepers with men vygylant and watchefull: Whanne fynally iniquytie, myschiefe, lechery, nedynesse, cowardyse, foolehardynesse, all vyces shall contende with equytie, goodnesse, temperaunce, strength, prudence, and with all other vertues. Also we muste nedes trust, that in this battayle the very goddis immortall woll fauourablye prosperе vs. Wherfore, excepte we woll nedes be slaues, the victorie is surely ours. Whyche thynges beinge thus good souldyours, I admonysshe you for the common wealthes sake (than whyche nothynge ought to be derer vnto any manne) I exhorte you for my greate dilygence, whiche ye knowe I haue practysed in warrefare, and I beseeche you for the greatnesse of the perylle that we stande in, thynke that all the ayde and succour of the common weale, all the state of the Cytie, the wealthe and lybertie of all the Citisens, is layde and fast fyxed to yout swordes poyntes in this one battayle. Other nations can suffre seruytude and bondage. Romaynes can nat awaye therewith. Therefore eyther it behoueth vs to conquere, or elles let vs, the pryncis of all the worlde, and of all nations, rather dye with glorye, thanne to

lyue in ſeruytude with repzoche.

## Howe Petreius ozdered his battayles. Cap. xviii.

VVHAN this ozation was doone, the ſouldyours myndes were meruayouſly kendlyd, and ſoo luſty a courage and deſyze to fyght toke theym, that vnethe they wolde abide the ſound of the trumpette. Petreius ozderynge his army in two battayles, the auncyent cohoztes of warriours in the vawarde, and the reſydue of his hoſte behynde, to ayde and ſuccour theym, and all thynges dylygentlye aduyſed and marked, his ſouldiours inſtantly requyrynge and feruently deſyzing it, he blewe vp his trumpette. At the ſowne of the trumpet, they on both partes ſo fierſely ſhewed theyz vyolence, and ſo ſodeynely and ſoo haſtily ranne togyther, that they lefte no ſpace to caſte dartes at theyz ennemyes, but foughte hande to hande with theyz ſwozdes. Catilynes men being in extreme hope of heith, ſtacke fiercely to it: the ancient warriours inflamed with Petreius wozdes, and compellyd with the glozye of theyz olde warfare, ſtrongly receyued the fierce bzounte of theyz ennemyes. They foughte longe on bothe ſydes mooſte manfully, and with fierce courage: the clamour and noyſe, and the dynne of ſwozdes, myngled with gronynge was greatte and hydous. Dyſdayne and the glozy of warfare encouraged the tone parte, neceſſitie and deſperation ſtomaked the tother.

Howe

## Howe valyant a capitayne Catilyne was. Capitulo. lxx.



Catilyne in the meane whyle sente succours to suche of his men as were in daungier, and theyr places that were wounded and wery, he furnyshed with freshe and lusty souldiors, he oft strake his enmy, and exhorted them that were slowe to battayle, he retourned backe theym that fled, and rounnynge hyther and thyther, he soo dilygently prouyded for all thynges, that it were harde to iudge, whither he played the parte of a souldiour mooste valyant, or of a cappytayne moste politike. But at the selfe same tyme, he dydde bothe. Wolde to god Catilyn had hadde as good a mynde to gouerne the cõmon weale, as he had a body to make warre, and wolde to god he had not consumed his excellent wytte in myschiefe. Assuredly fewe citesyns wolde haue gouerned the common weale better than he. But whan the immoderate luste to rule and haue the soueraynte, had swalowed hym vp, all these ornamentes, whiche in hym were excedynge great, with this myschief were obscured. And whyle he coueted to be lyke L. Sylla, and C. Marius, he was founde to be moste vnlyke to his auncestours. For Catilyne (I wyll omytte his father and grandfather) was the sonnes son of that M. Sergius, whose prowesse soo many warrelyke preyses wytnessen. Notwithstandynge I redde of late certayne authors, that say, that Catilynes lynage came out of the house of the Scipions: But nothyng can be spoken more contrary to letnyng. But nowe let vs returne agayne to the ba-

tayle. Than Catilynes ſouldyours by his knyghtely dedes beinge put in good hope, and freſhely encouraged, fought ſo egerly, that Antonius ſouldiours a lytell reculyd. Whan Petreius perceyued that, he ſente the ſeconde battayle to ayde theym that were in peryll: ſoo whan they that were freſſhe and luſtye were in the places of them that were werye and wounded, Catilynes men coulde not ſuſteyne their vyolence. Than the Feſulane in goinge aboute to ſuccour his ſouldyours is ſlayne. Manlius oppreſſed with greate multitude of ennemies, mooſte manfullye fyghtynge is ſlayne, with the moſte parte of the ſouldiours.

¶ Whan Catilyne ſawe the mattier at ſuch a miſchief and that there was no ſuccours that myght be ſente to helpe them, remembryng the lynage that he came of, and myndynge alſo that an honeſt deathe oftentymes dothe eſcape a ſhamefull lyfe, deſpeyryng to eſcape, gotte hym amonge the thyckeſt of his ennemies, there ſleinge many of them, he compellyd the reſydue a lytle to recule. And whyle he fierſely preaſed vpon them, all the multitude tourned agaynſt hym, there foughte he egerly hande to hand. At length being oppreſſed with multitude of enemyes, and receyuyng many greuous woundes, that he coulde ſcarſely ſtande, makynge a great ſlaughter aboute hym, with hyghe laude (if he had dyed for the cõmen weale) he was ſlayne. But the other ennemies, beinge paſte all hope to eſcape alyue, ſhewed ſuche manlyneſſe, that whan they that ſtoode before were ouerthrowen, they that were nexte defended theym valiantly: and loke what place any of them toke beinge alyue, they couered it beinge deade: fewe ſaued theym ſelues by flyghte, whome noo man folo-

wynge,

wynge, they escaped easily.

¶ The warre that L. Prompſinius made with the Delphinoys. Capit. xo.

THe same season certayne of the conspiratours, with greatte promyses sturryd the Delphinoys to make warre to the Romaynes: whyche thynge I meruayle that Salustе (whyche wrote this conspiracye) spake nothynge of. Than to represse theyr violence, an armye was sent forthe, ledde by C. Promptinius, whiche being Pretor with L. Flaccus, toke the detections of the conspiracy: who fought with them many tymes prosperously. And whā he had wᵗ many batayles wearied the Delphinoys, & the cōmon weale delyuered from drede, being in rest, he determined to go no farther. For alway tyll that tyme the Romayne capitayns thought better to resyste the frenche men by warre than to prouoke theym to it: For there was none other nation thought able to make warre to the Romayns. All other busynesses bothe by lande and sea, for the most part by the prowesse onely of Gn. Pompeius, were surely pacifyed.

¶ The other conspirators condemned at Rome. Ca. xvi.

AFter this at Rome greatte and greuouse Judgementes were gyuen agaynste the conspyratours, L. Vergunteius a senatour, P. Antronius, Scruius Sylla, C. Cornelius, M. Lecca, M. Fuluius nobilior, and many other were condemnyd. Yet many of the parteners of the conspyracye escaped. For whā the

the citie, and almoste all Italy was infected with this mischiefe, the Senate thoughte, that by the punyshement of a fewe, the myndes of the other myght be cured. But this thynge I wyll not leaue vnspoken: for thoughe the lawes wyll not, that seruantes shulde be rackt to accuse theyr masters, yet concerning this myschefull conspiracy, they rackt them to disclose their masters. And no wrong. For the mooste prudente Senatours decreed, that they that had enterprised soo greatte a myschiefe, ought to be bare and destytute of all helpe bothe of lawe and man. Thus Catilynes warre, the most terrible & moste perylus that man can remembre, was by Cicero in his robe, and by Antonius armed, Capitayns and Consuls, stynted and brought to an end.

¶ Thus endeth the conspyracye of Catylyne.

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IN OFFICINA THOMAE
BERTHELETI TYPIS
IMPRES.

CVM PRIVILEGIO AD IM-
PRIMENDVM SOLVM.

ANNO VERBI IN-
CARNATI.
M.D.XLI.




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